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# MODERN PHILOLOGY

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A *Journal* devoted to research in  
Modern Languages and Literatures

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# MODERN PHILOLOGY

A JOURNAL DEVOTED TO RESEARCH IN  
MODERN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

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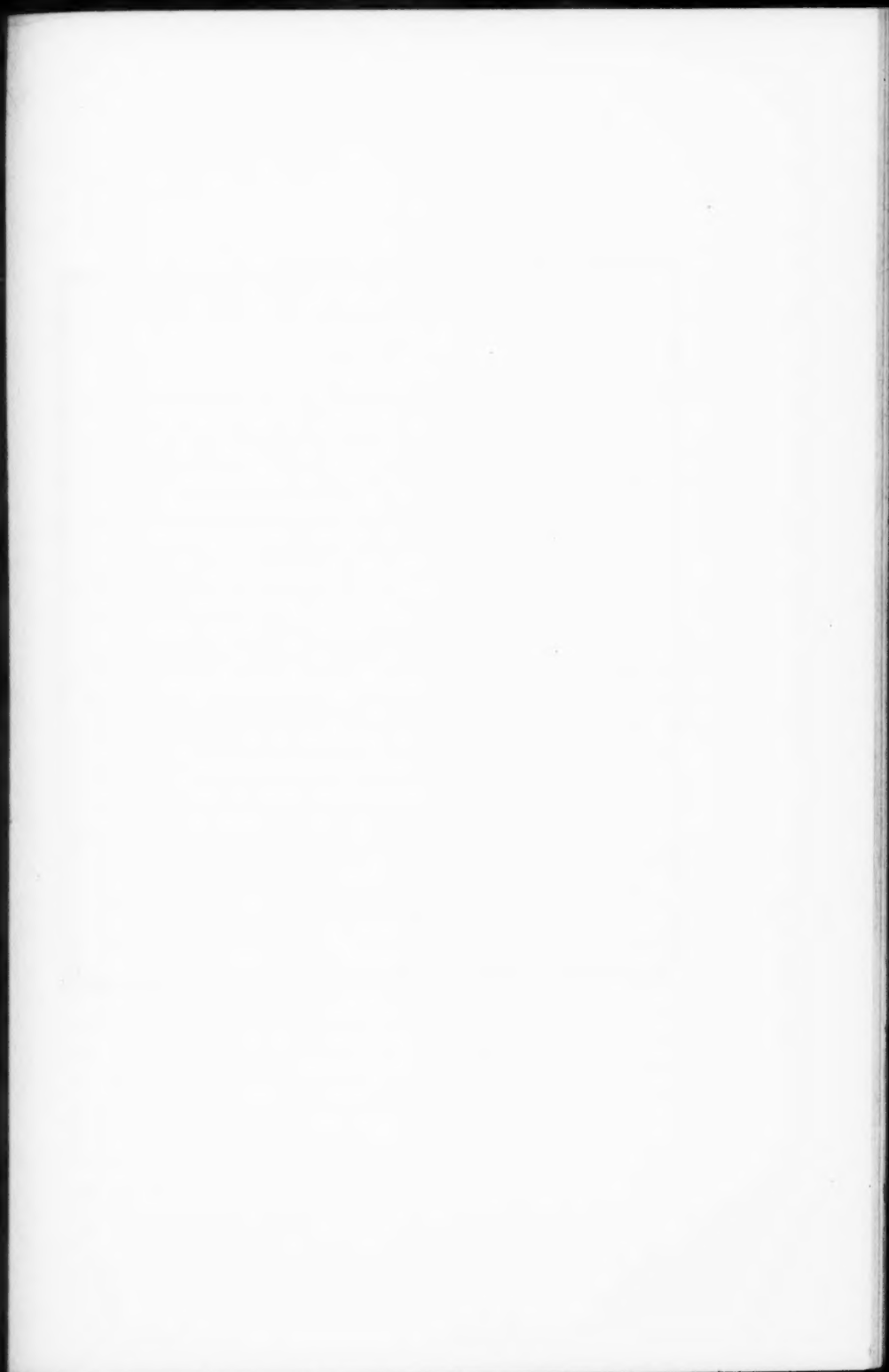
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## JAMES DOUGLAS BRUCE

1862-1923

At the height of his scholarship, at the moment when his largest and most important book is being put into type, Professor Bruce has gone from us. By great good fortune this book, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, is finished, and will appear in two volumes amounting to about one thousand pages.

Professor Bruce has been known throughout the learned world as an Arthurian scholar since the appearance of his edition of *De Ortu Waluuanii* in 1898; and especially since his *Vita Meriadoci*, 1900, and *Le Morte Arthur*, 1903. He has held the chair of English in the University of Tennessee since 1900, and he was president of the Modern Language Association of America in 1916. He has been a contributor to many learned journals, including, since 1913, *Modern Philology*.

In all these varied activities Bruce sought not his own glory, but the discovery of truth, and the honor of the human spirit. We wish to remember him not only as an unwearied and vigorous investigator of medieval romances, but as a man with something of the broad traditional background of a Virginia gentleman, always as ready to talk of Virgil and Horace as of *Lancelot* or *Le Morte Arthur*, and one the limits of whose reading in modern writers were hard to discover. No better wish for the future of Arthurian scholarship can be suggested than that many younger scholars shall arise to emulate Bruce's example.

A. C. L. B.

# Modern Philology

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## DESIDERATA IN THE INVESTIGATION OF THE OLD FRENCH PROSE ROMANCES OF THE ARTHURIAN CYCLE

### I

In the study of the Arthurian prose romances as in the study of all other literary works, the first task of the scholar, of course, is to settle what is the true text of the writing concerned. In the case of productions of the Middle Ages, such as those with which we are now dealing, this involves, as we all know, a searching examination of the extant manuscript materials with the purpose of tracing the development of the manuscript tradition of the particular work and establishing, as far as is possible, the correct genealogy of the surviving copies, so that we may be able to form some judgment as to which of these manuscripts or groups of manuscripts best preserves the author's text in its original form.

Now, in the case of the Vulgate cycle, which is not only the bulkiest, but, in every respect, the most important body of Arthurian romance that has come down to us in prose form, we have hitherto had no systematic investigation of this nature. There are many valuable hints on the subject, of course, even in Paulin Paris' *Manuscripts français de la Bibliothèque du Roi*—now upward of seventy years old—as well as in the partial or complete editions of the cycle that have appeared since his day. In certain Introductions to the edition of the prose *Lancelot* which Professor Wechssler's pupils

have inaugurated, we even have, indeed, what purports to be a complete classification of the extant MSS of that romance, but the editors have not set before us the evidence on which they base their classification, so that we are compelled to accept their conclusions on faith. Fortunately, however, this particular need of a study of the MSS of the Vulgate cycle—a fundamental one, of course, in the investigation of the prose romances—is likely soon to be satisfied by the scholar who is unquestionably best qualified to undertake the task. I refer, of course, to M. Ferdinand Lot, who, in his treatise on the prose *Lancelot*, published in 1918, announced that he was engaged in the preparation of a study of the MSS of the whole Vulgate cycle. Combining, as M. Lot does, long palaeographical experience with a thorough knowledge of the romances concerned, the results of his researches will, no doubt, be of great value.

## II

Next to manuscript study, in logical order, comes the editing of texts, and in this category of *desiderata* I would like to point out especially the following needs:

1. At the beginning of Volume IV of Sommer's *Vulgate Version*—that is to say, the second volume of his edition of the prose *Lancelot*—we have a stretch of narrative which begins with Lancelot's journey to Sorelois in the company of his friend, Galehot, and ends with the combat between Lancelot and Meleagant in the kingdom of the latter's father. This stretch, which contains about as many words as the average modern novel, covers many important episodes of the romance, such as Arthur's affair with the False Guinevere, Gawain's imprisonment in the Dolorous Tower by Carados the Giant, Galehot's death, and Lancelot's visit to the land of Gorre—this last episode being imitated from Chrétien's *Conte de la Charrette*. Now, as Sommer tells us in the prefatory note to the volume just cited, this whole stretch of narrative—the first 204 pages of his Volume IV—exists in "two distinctly different redactions," of which he has only published one. He gives us no means of judging why he selected this particular version, and, as far as our present knowledge goes, the version which he rejects has an equal claim to be regarded as the

original form of this part of the romance. It is not likely that even M. Lot's manuscript researches will definitely solve the problem, and, accordingly, an edition of the suppressed version is manifestly desirable.

2. The extant portions of the *Merlin*-continuation of the so-called Robert de Boron cycle of the prose romances have been edited, in part, by Paris and Ulrich from the Huth MS and, in part, by Sommer from MS 112 (fonds français) of the Bibliothèque Nationale. We have also already in print in the Spanish *Demanda* a condensed Spanish version of this continuation as well as of the *Queste* of the same cycle, and in the partially printed Portuguese *Demanda* a Portuguese version of this *Queste*. On the other hand, only a few pages from the fragments of the original French text of the pseudo-Robert *Queste* which survive in MSS 112, 340, and 343 of the Bibliothèque Nationale have been edited. An edition of these fragments in one volume would be a very important contribution to our resources for the study of the development of the prose romances.

3. Closely connected with the pseudo-Robert *Merlin*-continuation was the so-called *Conte del Brait* (*Tale of Merlin's Cry*), which was largely based on that continuation. There are a number of references to this work in MSS of the cyclic *Tristan* and other late prose romances, but the romance itself has been preserved only in a Spanish version, the so-called *El Baladro del Sabio Merlin*—a title which Bonilla has wrongly appropriated for a division of the Spanish *Demanda*, but which properly belongs to the Spanish version of the *Conte del Brait*. Only one copy of this *El Baladro* is known to exist—namely, the 1498 print in the possession of the Marquis de Pidal from which Gaston Paris in his *Huth-Merlin* reproduced the chapter headings of the romance and a few specimens of the text. This work still remains unedited.

I have singled out for mention this particular romance mainly because of the confusing part which it has played in discussions of the problem of the evolution of the Old French prose cycles. Not only the *Baladro*, however, but most of the Arthurian romance material in Spanish and Portuguese still remains unedited, although editions of portions of it have been long promised, as in the case of the Spanish

*Joseph and Merlin* by Professors Pietsch and Nitze. But the editing of a romance like the *Baladro* which exists in a unique copy—and that an early print—would seem to constitute an especially easy task.

4. More important than the editorial *desiderata* which I have mentioned thus far is the editing of the prose *Tristan*. As far as the mere narrative of that romance is concerned, we are, of course, already able to follow this in Löseth's masterly analysis with an exactness that leaves nothing to be desired. Indeed, the bewildering maze of variants in the manuscript tradition which that analysis reveals might well fill the heart of the most courageous editor with fear. But, after all, no analysis can take the place of the text itself, and, when we consider the exalted place which the *Tristan* held in the highest circles of European culture and fashion from the thirteenth century to the sixteenth, it appears really incumbent on Arthurian scholars to render this famous book generally accessible. An edition based on all the MSS is manifestly out of the question, and, in fact, is not necessary. Students of stories who want recorded every episode in the MS tradition can always turn to Löseth, but a text reproduced from a good MS—the best, indeed, as far as that is ascertainable—would not only be far better than no text at all, but it would enable us to form a correct judgment, in all essentials, of the literary quality of the romance, and that is the really important thing, although professional scholars are too apt to forget it. If, in the case of any widely diffused work of earlier ages—such as the Latin Bible, or Dante, or Chaucer—the world had been unwilling to accept any edition save one that was based on all the extant MSS, it would still find itself waiting. We all know what a stimulus was given to the study of the Arthurian prose romances by Sommer's publication of the Vulgate cycle—for the most part, from a single MS—and a similar result would be sure to follow from the publication of the prose *Tristan*.

What I have just observed of the *Tristan* applies, of course, also to the other prose romances—for example, to *Guiron le Courtois*, which J. C. Dunlop (a good judge) pronounced to be the most readable of all the Old French romances in prose. But it would be falling into the fantastic vein of the heroes of the romances them-

selves, to imagine that in any measurable future we are likely to see the new editions of these long-forgotten works.

### III

The individual romances require detailed annotation with reference to sources, etc., like all other works of the past. I have, myself, tried to supply a commentary of this sort to the *Mort Artu*, and it is to be hoped that M. Pauphilet in his forthcoming edition of the *Queste* will do the same thing for that branch. In the case of the *Estoire* and *Queste*, especially, a study of these romances from the point of view of contemporary theology and ritual usage is very desirable. Miss Fisher made a good beginning in this direction, but she did not go far enough. I do not believe, either, that the subject of the debt of the two romances just mentioned to the literature of Christian legend has yet been exhausted. Perhaps, what I have here remarked concerning the *Estoire* and *Queste* may apply to the *Perlesvaus*, likewise. The authors of all these works were certainly ecclesiastics and their principal reading, consequently, must have been of the sort that was habitual with men of their class.

It seems to me that studies of the kind that I have just indicated would be suitable for doctoral theses. For instance, as regards the commentaries, I would cite the example of the English department of Yale University, where, for many years past, candidates for the Doctor's degree under Professor Cook have from time to time been set to preparing editions of Ben Jonson's plays, instead of theses of the usual type, and the result, on the whole, has been highly valuable. The annotations in these editions, to be sure, relate more to verbal and grammatical matters than would be the case with commentaries on the Old French prose romances.

### IV

In his *Lancelot*, M. Lot has asserted that there is no difference of style or vocabulary between the various members of the Vulgate cycle and he takes this supposed fact as an additional proof that they were all—except the *Merlin*—from the pen of the same author. Undeniably, the branches of the cycle do not appear to exhibit at



first sight any such differences of vocabulary or grammatical structure as one would expect in the writings of different authors in ancient or modern times. On the other hand, to my mind, there are such striking general differences of style between the different branches, or, in the case of the *Lancelot*, even between the different parts of the same branch, that I cannot accept so sweeping a dictum until a closer examination of the subject has been made. Accordingly, among the *desiderata* in this field I would place a searching investigation of the respective branches from the point of view of vocabulary, grammar, and rhetoric.

## V

No systematic study of the nomenclature of the prose romances has been made. An onomasticon for the whole body of Arthurian romance, such as Miss Alma Blount began several years ago, is, indeed, a great desideratum, but she has abandoned the task, I understand, and it is not likely that any volunteers will soon present themselves for the completion of the enterprise. In such a work, a conspectus of all the occurrences of any particular name, arranged in chronological order, would often be full of suggestion in regard to the mutual relations of the romances concerned. As regards the prose romances, more especially, a systematic study, such as I have indicated, would probably lead to the discovery of additional sources for these works among the Arthurian metrical romances and possibly even among the *chansons de geste*, for the *chansons de geste* certainly supplied the prose romances with a larger number of names than scholars have hitherto recognized, and hence the authors of these later works, in some instances, must have been acquainted with specimens of the national epic. Not negligible, either, as a source of the nomenclature of these romances is the current nomenclature of the time—that is to say, names of actual persons and places of the Middle Ages which the authors knew either through their reading or through the ordinary intercourse of daily life. This element, too, is larger, I feel sure, than has been hitherto recognized.

## VI

No aspect of the study of the prose romances is of greater interest at present, it seems to me, than the determination of the influence

of these works on the life and literature of the Renaissance. As all students of the subject are aware, recent researches have revealed a far larger element of medievalism in the culture of the period which we call the Renaissance than was recognized by the generation of Burckhardt and Symonds. As far as the prose romances are concerned, all Arthurian scholars know of the existence of the numerous fifteenth- and sixteenth-century prints of these works, but we almost invariably dismiss them from consideration, with more or less contempt, as offering merely late and inferior texts of the romances in question. These prints, however, possess a first-rate importance in this respect, at least, namely, that it was through them that the tradition of medieval romance was kept alive during the Renaissance and exercised its great influence on the authors and society of the period, for it was in such prints and not in the purer texts of the early MSS, naturally, that the people of this later age read the romances.

I do not mean to imply, of course, that the subject with which I am dealing in this last division of my paper is an absolutely virgin field. As far as the Italian aspect of the matter is concerned, we have, as everybody knows, Pio Rajna's admirable treatise on the sources of the *Orlando Furioso*. We have, still further, valuable studies of Bojardo's sources in medieval romance from Bertoni, of Alamanni's from Hauvette, and so on. So, too, in the case of Spanish literature, we have the well-known introduction of Menéndez y Pelayo to his *Orígenes de la Novela*, to say nothing of numerous monographs, such as Miss Williams' on the *Amadis*, or Vaeth's on *Tirant the White*. Nevertheless, I believe that special students of these literatures will bear me out in saying that there is still an urgent need both for more special studies concerning the relations of the Spanish and Portuguese romances of chivalry to the Old French prose romances and for a general treatise on the former group which would give full recognition to their dependence upon the latter. Certainly, the latest book on the subject, H. Thomas' *Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry* (Cambridge, 1920), though valuable from a bibliographical point of view, exhibits a virtually complete ignorance of the Old French romances and of their connection with those of the Iberian peninsula.

If, in conclusion, one may be allowed to indulge for a moment in visions of perfection, I would say that nothing would bring out more clearly the debt of the Renaissance to the Old French romances in prose than an "Allusion Book"—as complete as possible—compiled from references to these romances in the writings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Models of such a work lie ready to hand in the similar compilation which already exist for Shakespeare and Chaucer and which have involved, I believe, an even greater labor than would be the case with the task that I here propose.

†J. D. BRUCE

UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE

† Deceased.

## A YOUTH TO FORTUNE AND TO FAME UNKNOWN

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I feel sure that Gray's *Elegy*, pieced and patched together so laboriously by a man of almost as little genius as abundant taste, will outlive all these hasty abortions of Browning, Swinburne, & Co. And yet there are plenty of faults in that *Elegy* too, resulting from the very elaboration which yet makes it live.—Edward Fitzgerald, *Letters*, II, 209.

Certain fundamental questions involving the structure and the very nature of Gray's *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard* have never been squarely faced. What is the relation of the second part to the first? Is the young poet described in Part II, which begins with the twenty-fourth stanza, intended as a concrete example of that unacknowledged merit with which Part I deals in its major subdivision? These problems cannot be intelligently considered until we have answered the crucial question, to which scarcely any attention has been given: Who was the Youth to Fortune and to Fame Unknown?

Son of Warton's Enthusiast, grandson of Il Penseroso, lineal descendant of Democritus Junior and of Shakespeare's Jacques, this Youth is not an uninteresting person. What with his "view-hunting," his sentimental humanitarianism, his solitude, and his nameless woe, he bears the chief stigmata of the lesser romantic poet of later years, and is something between a bucolic Byron and Henry Kirke White. Even if his identity were not the key to the poem, he would still have the claim upon our interest that he has been thought to represent the poet Gray himself. And yet, as though literally obeying the injunction not to "draw his frailties from their dread abode," editors and critics have preserved an almost total silence concerning him. In consequence, the Youth is still "to fame unknown," and the *Elegy*, which has been called the "typical piece of English verse, our poem of poems,"<sup>1</sup> and which is unquestionably the most familiar poem in the language, still awaits interpretation.

Remembering that familiarity is often an impediment to full understanding, we may well concentrate attention upon this Youth

<sup>1</sup> Edmund Gosse, *Life of Gray*, *E.M.L.S.*, chap. v.

and ask who he may be. Inquiry among careful readers will show that he is actually taken in each of three ways: (a) as a purely imaginary personification of the type *poeta*; (b) as an actual poet entirely unknown to fame, an *Ignotus*, whom Gray, however, had known at Stoke Poges or elsewhere; (c) as Thomas Gray himself.

a) In behalf of *Poeta* one might say that that reading of the *Elegy* is to be preferred, *caeteris paribus*, which involves the least break in thought at the end of the 23d stanza. Part I deals with abstractions in the fashion dear to most eighteenth-century poets, and to none more than to Gray. No one of the "rude forefathers," who are to be regarded as mere typical villagers, is brought before us. Of the "village Hampden," the "mute inglorious Milton," and the "guiltless Cromwell," no more is implied than that they may have existed. A transition from this grandeur of generality to the consideration of an actual individual would be difficult to make and almost necessarily injurious to unity of total effect. Many persons read through the 24th stanza with no feeling that they are being introduced to a human being any more actual than the "mute inglorious Milton." In so doing they give Gray credit for having made his poem, as he should have done, one seamless robe. They are believers in *Poeta*.

Against this view it may be urged that several details in the description of the Youth and of his death are too minute for a conventionalized portrait. Gray could scarcely have expected that this highly romantic individual would be accepted by the public of 1750 as a typical poet. The difficulty of transition from the general to the particular is just what is all too evident in stanza 24. The flaw in unity likely to result from such a transition is just what the careful reader feels as he passes from the first to the second part. Finally, this interpretation provides no sense for the 24th stanza, in which it is made clear that the person brought before us is the author of certain verses referred to as "these lines." The pronoun "these" forces us to think of the lines concerned as actual. It is true that actual verses are often attributed in fiction to imaginary poets, but the difficulty here is to find any actual verses which may possibly be attributed to *Poeta*. We must conclude, therefore, that Gray had in mind some actual person, and pass to a consideration of *Ignotus*.

b) An ardent advocate of this interpretation might possibly argue thus: "The case for *Poeta* fails because one can find no actual lines of which he might be the author. The person presented in stanza 24 must be the author of 'these lines,' in which the 'artless tale' of the villagers is related. Clearly, these lines cannot be the lines of the *Elegy* itself, because no tale whatever is related therein. What lines can we find, then, in which a tale is related? Only the lines or inscriptions upon the tombstones. The mysterious Youth, I contend, is the unknown village poet who composed these inscriptions. Traits of peculiarity which could not be harmonized with the *Poeta* argument give no trouble here because *Ignotus* was a real person. Moreover, he provides almost as smooth a transition as that which alone commends *Poeta* to our attention. Observe that in the stanzas just preceding the 24th Gray has been writing about epitaphs. What more natural than a turn in thought to the young poet, buried in this very churchyard, who has composed several of the epitaphs therein?"

So far the uncompromising advocate for *Ignotus*, who would seem to have been more ingenious than convincing. The case against his client is seen to be damning as soon as it is stated. That a young man of sufficient promise to win the admiration of Gray appeared at Stoke Poges without attracting some notice elsewhere is improbable. There is no letter to such a person and no mention of him in Gray's voluminous correspondence. Finally, in order to lend him even the most shadowy pro tempore existence, his advocate has done almost criminal violence to the phrase "these lines." Let us "no further seek his merits to disclose," but pass on to

c) Thomas Gray.

The chief support of the opinion that the Youth stands for Gray is found in the only easy and natural reading of the 24th stanza. Common sense insists, despite the pedantic objection of the *Ignotus* advocate, that "these lines" must be the lines of the *Elegy* itself, finding no greater difficulty in Gray's misuse of the word "tale" than in his later misapplication of "lay" in referring to the Epitaph. The person presented in the 24th stanza is held before us, apparently, to the last line of the poem. Thomas Gray is the person presented in

the 24th stanza. It would seem, therefore, an inevitable conclusion that the *Youth to Fortune and to Fame Unknown* is Thomas Gray.

When one recalls the microscopic study given to the few pen strokes by which Chaucer sketched himself, he is at a loss to understand the neglect of this which appears to be the self-portrait of a far more enigmatic poet. His wonder does not diminish as he examines the portrait more carefully. He observes that this interpretation makes Gray say of himself that he was learned, generous, sincere, tender hearted, unappreciated. It makes him foretell his own early death, apparently of a broken heart, and it makes him write his own epitaph. In fact, it is scarcely too much to say that the tone of the entire second part, considered as Gray's description of himself, is that of the sentimental and lachrymose self-pity which most boys put behind them in the earlier stages of adolescence.

"Why are these things hid?" Why did Dr. Johnson, who let slip no other opportunity to fall foul of Gray, allow the poet to depict his idle and self-centered reveries as worthy if not of admiration at least of sympathy, to describe himself in his own epitaph as generous and sincere, and by implication to liken himself to a gem and to a flower unvalued because unknown? In that unreserved praise of the *Elegy* which is, as it were, wrenched out of him at the end of his *Life of Gray*, Johnson says not a word of all this. No one of the numerous editors of the poem, apparently, has thought the matter worthy of comment. A few of them have said, indeed, that the *Youth* stands for Gray, and others who have said nothing whatever about the *Youth*<sup>1</sup> may have held the same view. None of these, however, has drawn out the implications of this opinion. Can they have thought the matter unimportant, or too obvious for mention? No other obvious matter connected with the *Elegy* has been left without its sheaf of notes. A poet's description of himself is always important, at least to his editor; and the one before us, if indeed it is such, is unusually so.

The conclusions which it would almost seem that Gray's editors have deliberately sought to avoid are courageously deduced in the only extended statement I have found of the view that Gray is writing

<sup>1</sup> Wakefield, Mason, Mitford, Tovey, Gosse, Phelps, etc.



about himself. In an article entitled "The Secret of Gray,"<sup>1</sup> Mr. A. C. Benson objects, as others have, to Matthew Arnold's "fantasia upon the single phrase 'he never spoke out,'" and says that Gray owes much of his appeal to a passionate sort of self-revelation. . . . In his poems, Gray is forever recurring to himself and his fears . . . the most striking instance being the original draft of the *Elegy*. It was to have ended with the stanza "no more with reason and thyself at strife." But Gray could not end on this philosophical and impersonal note.<sup>2</sup> What did he do? He threw the structure aside. . . . And then the whole concludes with what is a passionate piece of autobiography—the Epitaph. He cannot stand aside. . . . The inner portrait of himself is there—his sadness, his generosity, his sincerity, his longing for sympathy, and the trembling hope with which he faced the silence.

Of the two fantasias, Arnold's and Benson's, there can be no doubt which is nearer the truth. The assertion concerning one of the most reticent of English poets, that he owes much of his appeal to passionate self-revelation and that he is forever recurring to himself, will not stand against even cursory examination of Gray's verse. For a man to memorialize his own sincerity and generosity would be less a mark of what Mr. Benson calls passion than of execrably bad taste. Now, as a matter of fact, Thomas Gray, the friend of Horace Walpole and the man whom Bonstetten called the most perfect gentleman he had ever seen, was a very fair example of "*l'honnête homme qui ne se pique de rien*."

Here, then lies our problem—strong evidence in the text of the *Elegy* that Gray has done a thing which it seems highly improbable that such a man could have done. One feels like defending Gray against himself. But our mere reluctance to accept the evidence has no cogency. Unless it can be made the motive of an investigation which will somehow weaken the evidence, then the clear implications of the text must stand. The utmost that such an investigation could do would be to show that Gray has said a thing which he did not fully intend. The supposition that an author does not say what he means, the effort to tell him what he really intends to say, is always

<sup>1</sup> The *Poetry Review* (London), December, 1916.

<sup>2</sup> If Gray had ended here he would not by any means have ended on an impersonal note, for the rejected stanzas refer unmistakably to himself, as Mr. Benson has correctly said in the sentences immediately preceding.

extremely hazardous. Nevertheless, the only chance of solving the problem before us seems to lie in just that hazardous supposition and effort.

The most likely method of establishing this supposition would be to show that those parts of the *Elegy* which concern the problem were composed at different times and therefore, possibly, with different intentions. The three existing manuscripts of the poem indicate that it probably went through several stages before it was sent to Walpole in 1750. Thus there was just such a chance as we are seeking for those flaws of structure which occur when a poet lays a manuscript aside for so long that he forgets his original mood or intention, or when he tries to weld into one piece separate scraps of work originally composed with no single whole in mind.

Two seams are visible in the *Elegy* which may indicate possible flaws of structure: one between the 23d and 24th stanzas and one between the *Elegy* proper and the Epitaph. The Epitaph, certainly, is easily separable from the poem.<sup>1</sup> Since it is our present object to drive, if possible, a wedge between it and the 24th stanza, we may adopt as a hypothesis the supposition that the Epitaph was originally composed to commemorate some person as yet unknown to us, and that it was joined to the *Elegy* for reasons which we may leave for later consideration.

The Epitaph, however, does not come away cleanly. Stanzas 28 and 29, dealing with the death and funeral of the Youth, adhere to it. The 27th stanza clearly belongs with the two that follow, suggesting as it does the causes of the Youth's death. Our hypothesis obliges us, therefore, to say that these three stanzas refer to some person unknown, the subject of the Epitaph.

Here we may pause to inquire whether it seems likely that in stanzas 27-29 Gray is writing about himself, as, according to stanza 24, he should be doing. If not, then our experimental separation of the Epitaph has thus far justified itself.

The manifestations of the Youth's mysterious woe presented in stanza 27 do not accord with what we know of Gray's quiet self-control. The strength of this assertion is seen when one observes

<sup>1</sup> "Gray's *Elegy* will be read as long as any work of Shakespeare, despite the tinkettle of an epitaph tied to its tail."—W. S. Landor, *Works*, I (1874), 426.

that the Youth is actually killed, apparently, by mental distress. There is no external evidence that Gray ever conceived such a possibility for himself. We must, of course, remember that every heart knoweth its own bitterness and that Gray may be dramatizing and exaggerating his own undeniable melancholy in a way made familiar to him by Shakespeare, Burton, and Milton. We should also remember that in the last of the rejected stanzas, where he is unquestionably speaking of himself, he says that he has given "anxious cares and endless wishes room." In that same stanza, however, he expresses a hope that the churchyard may assist him by its quieting influence to pursue the tenor of his doom through the cool sequestered vale of life. A radical change indeed would be involved in an abandonment of this almost cheerful aspiration for a prophecy of his own death as brought on by sorrow and care.

When one considers these stanzas for what they are rather than for what they may not be, he sees that they build up naturally toward the Epitaph, suggesting the cause and manner of the Youth's death and enlisting sympathy for him. What is said of him in the Epitaph shows that there need be no exaggeration in stanza 27. Since by hypothesis we do not know this person as we do know Gray, we have no external test for the credibility of what is said of him. The character presented in stanzas 27-32 is self-consistent. These six stanzas, therefore, belong together; they concern one person; and by our present hypothesis that person is not Thomas Gray.

If Gray is to be recognized at all in the description of the Youth, then, it must be in stanzas 25 and 26. The evidence that he is portraying himself even here is tenuous as gossamer, but it must be examined.

The connection of the *Elegy* with that numerous group of eighteenth-century poems which echo Milton's *Il Penseroso* is well known.<sup>1</sup> Except for the too violent melancholy of the 27th stanza, Gray's Youth is, indeed, a later *Penseroso*. In a letter to Walpole written at Stoke Poges in September, 1737, Gray shows that he had thought of himself as resembling Milton's figure.<sup>2</sup> The likeness, one

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. A. Beers, *A History of English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century*, chapter on "The Miltonic Group."

<sup>2</sup> "I have at the distance of half-a-mile a forest all my own. . . . Both vale and hill are covered with most venerable beeches. . . . At the foot of one of these squats me I (*sic*) (*il penseroso*) and there grow to a trunk the whole morning."

may admit, was not imaginary. Gray had *Il Penseroso's* love of landscape, his studious and semi-nocturnal habits, his desire to look at life from a safe distance, and his passion for solitude.<sup>1</sup>

The bookish Gray had probably seen or imagined a likeness between himself and another literary figure, although the evidence for this is less satisfactory. It is not likely that the 26th stanza of the *Elegy* was written in complete independence of the lines which describe the attitude of Shakespeare's melancholy Jacques:

He lay along  
Under an oak whose antique root peeps out  
Upon the brook that brawls along our wood.<sup>2</sup>

William Mason says, in a note to his *Elegy Written in a Church-Yard in South Wales*, that the "character of Mr. Gray was in its best parts not dissimilar to that of Jacques." (One cannot help wondering what parallel Mason would have suggested for the worst parts of Mr. Gray's character.) It is probable that this idea originated in some remark made by Gray himself rather than in Mason's not very fertile brain.

Nothing in these two stanzas prevents the supposition that they refer to Gray. On the other hand, they harmonize well enough with what is later said of the Youth. Stanza 24 apart, the evidence that Gray is here writing of himself would not withstand a strong counterclaim for the person with whom, according to hypothesis, the rest of the poem is concerned. It will be well, therefore, to postpone decision upon these stanzas and to wait for further evidence.

We arrive, finally, at the 24th stanza, in which it is certain that Gray speaks of himself. Unless the authority of this crucial stanza can be shaken our entire hypothesis fails. If we should find that this stanza was originally composed for purposes other than those which it now serves, its authority would be weakened. We shall do well, therefore, to examine closely the nature and history of these four cardinal lines.

<sup>1</sup> If Gray had not thrown out the stanza which describes his hero's evening occupation, we should have been given, as in Milton's poem, an outline of the Youth's typical day. This stanza reads as follows:

Him have we seen the Greenwood side along,  
While o'er the heath we hied, our Labours done,  
Oft as the Woodlark piped her farewell Song,  
With Whistful eyes pursue the Setting Sun.

<sup>2</sup> *As You Like It*, II, I, 30-32.

This stanza is confused in expression, obscure in meaning, ugly in total effect. One's feeling that it is by far the worst stanza in the poem is not due to the labored involution of its phraseology alone, or to the unidiomatic use of "for thee," to the inaccurate use of "tale," or to the pseudo-Shakespearean "if chance." One is inclined to ask how the "kindred spirit" has become sufficiently interested in the person concerned to "inquire his fate" unless by reading this very poem in which that fate is made known and his inquiry recorded.

This stanza exists in three versions. The first of these, a good stanza presenting only the poet himself, is that which is now known as the second of the rejected stanzas.<sup>1</sup> The second version, which must have been written after Gray had decided not to use the rejected stanzas, is found, like the first, in the Fraser manuscript. It comprises two stanzas, the first of which is identical, except for the first two words, with the first version, and the second of which reads as follows:

If chance that e'er some pensive Spirit more,  
By sympathetic Musings here delayed,  
With Vain, tho' kind, Enquiry shall explore  
Thy once-loved Haunt, this long-deserted Shade.

Evidently Gray did not think that the pensive spirit was entitled to so much space, for in the third version these four lines are telescoped with the second of the rejected stanzas to make the 24th stanza of the standard text.

We find, then, that this crucial stanza is a bad piece of patchwork made out of two bits of already existing material. Obviously it cost the poet much trouble. If, in making his second and third versions, Gray had been able to ignore the lines already written he

<sup>1</sup> For convenience of reference, I quote the rejected stanzas in full, exactly as they stand in the Fraser manuscript.

The thoughtless World to Majesty may bow  
Exalt the brave, & idolize Success  
But more to Innocence their Safety owe  
Than Power and Genius e'er conspired to bless  
And thou, who mindful of the unhonour'd Dead  
Dost in these Notes thy artless Tale relate  
By Night & lonely Contemplation led  
To linger in the gloomy Walks of Fate  
Hark how the sacred Calm, that broods around  
Bids ev'ry fierce tumultuous Passion cease  
In still small Accents whispering from the Ground  
A grateful Earnest of eternal Peace  
No more with Reason & thyself at Strife  
Give anxious Cares & endless Wishes room  
But thro the cool sequester'd Vale of Life  
Pursue the silent Tenour of thy Doom.

would probably have secured a better result. But that was not his way. Evidence and testimony are abundant that he never gained real facility in writing English verse.<sup>1</sup> Apparently it was easier for him to adapt than to create, and therefore he did not abandon without compelling reason any form of words which he had once set down. His tendency to let memory do the work of creative imagination was perhaps accentuated by his life-long practice of Latin versification, in which he was somewhat more adept and prolific than he was in English.<sup>2</sup> Less completely than most poets subjected in boyhood to the *Gradus* and the *Florilegium* did he overcome the habit of regarding verse-making as an adaptation of pre-existing phrases to a pre-existing metrical mold. Always he was the inveterate note-taker, the incorrigible snapper-up of unconsidered verbal trifles. He plundered the poetic sarcophagi of all the past, unwrapping mummy cases, gathering jewels five words long which he hoped might shine in some as yet unconceived literary gem work.

A man who "looks upon fine phrases like a lover" will be often tempted to change his original intention in order to adorn his page with this or that *purpurea panna*, and his temptation will be greater in proportion as his taste and learning exceed his creative power.<sup>3</sup> In writing the *Elegy*, that greatest poetical mosaic in the language, Gray confronted all the dangers incident to the tessellating technique.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "The reason he [Gray] wrote so little poetry was from the great exertion it cost him—which he made no reserve in confessing—in the labour of composition." Quoted as from Mathias in Mitford's *Gray*, Appendix E.

<sup>2</sup> Not all of Gray's Latin verse is given in the standard editions, but the total amount of it is certainly greater than that of his verse in English. Johnson points out in his *Life of Gray* that his first ambition "was to have excelled in Latin poetry."

<sup>3</sup> "As a writer he had this peculiarity that he did not write his pieces first rudely, and then correct them, but laboured every line as it arose in the train of composition."—Johnson's *Life of Gray*.

<sup>4</sup> Mitford gives about 135 parallels and analogues in his notes on the *Elegy*, and these have been reproduced with some few additions in the editions by Tovey and Phelps. It is not to be supposed, however, that Gray had anything like that number of sources in mind, since many of the passages cited by Mitford are themselves imitations of earlier originals. Thus, to take the clearest example, Mitford cites no less than ten possible sources for the "full many a gem" stanza, and later writers have added as many more. The defect of each and all of these analogues is, however, that they present the flower or the gem alone. A far more probable source of Gray's stanza is to be found in the eleventh Canzone of Cello Magno (1536-1602), which brings the flower and the gem metaphors together with just the purpose Gray has in mind:

Ma (qual in parte ignota  
Ben ricca gemma altrui cela il suo pregio,  
O fior, ch'alta virtù ha in se riposta)  
Visse in sen di castità nascosta  
In sua virtù e'n Dio contento visse  
Lungo dal visco mondan, che l'alma intrica.

(See *Edinburgh Review* for October, 1804, p. 51.)

As Fitzgerald aptly says, the poem was "laboriously pieced and patched together"; and in such a process, extended over several years, strange things may happen under the pen of a poet more concerned with phrases than with thoughts. Writing slowly and at long intervals, he may never see his entire poem in a single flash of thought, and consequently he may never fully realize what flaws may lurk in its structure, what warpings past the aim. These considerations should be kept in mind in our attempt to untie that knot intricate, the 24th stanza.

The fact that Gray plundered from lines of his own in the composition of this stanza does not make it any less clear an example of his mental habit. It will be observed that in the second of the rejected stanzas the phrase "by lonely contemplation led" refers unquestionably to Gray himself. In the final version of the stanza, however, this phrase is made to apply to the kindred spirit. Whether due to indolence or to what may possibly be called verbal parsimony, this bodily transference of a descriptive phrase from one person to another shows that when he set it down Gray was working at a very low poetic temperature. Here is a clear case of the phrase leading the thought. It tempts one to ask whether we need seek any reason for Gray's awkward presence in the 24th stanza other than the fact that he had been naturally and gracefully present in the lines out of which that stanza was quarried.

Holding this question in mind, we may next consider Mason's assertion that the *Elegy* once ended with those very lines in which the poet himself gracefully and naturally appears.<sup>1</sup> Tovey, who disbelieves Mason's statement, mentions as in its favor the fact that "all the MS [Fraser] to the end of the four rejected stanzas is in a much more faded character; and Mason must be so far right that the poem from 'Far from the Madding Crowd etc.' was resumed after a considerable interval." Tovey does not say *how* considerable an interval would be necessary to justify Mason's statement. Taking it for granted that Mason speaks of the Fraser manuscript, once his property, and finding that that manuscript in its present form does

<sup>1</sup> "In the first manuscript of this exquisite poem, I find the conclusion different from that which he afterwards composed; and though his afterthought was unquestionably the best, yet there is a pathetic melancholy in the four rejected stanzas which highly claims preservation." Mason then quotes the four stanzas and says that here—that is with the word "Doom"—"the poem was originally intended to conclude."—*Memoirs, Notes*.



not end with the rejected stanzas, Tovey can only infer, without suggesting any motive for the prevarication, that Mason is lying. In a question involving only the poet's intention, the testimony of Gray's friend and literary executor has greater weight than the conjecture of a nineteenth-century editor.

Concerning the Fraser manuscript we can be sure only that it was a working copy.<sup>1</sup> A careful reading goes far toward convincing one, however, that it is the manuscript to which Mason refers and that it once stood in the form which he describes. In this version the poem has two conclusions, one at the word "Doom" and one after the Epitaph. Anyone who will take the trouble to reconstruct what Mason says was the original draft, reading the first eighteen stanzas of the *Elegy* and then through the rejected stanzas, is certain to feel when he reaches the word "Doom" that he has come to the end of a poem better rounded off than the *Elegy* of the standard text. In reading the Fraser manuscript as it stands today, moreover, one's thought is turned from the villagers to the poet in the rejected stanzas, back to the villagers in "Far from the Madding Crowd's ignoble Strife," and finally to the poet again. The result is mere bewilderment. The last of the rejected stanzas is followed in this manuscript by what is the 19th stanza of the standard text, thus giving the following reading:

No more with Reason & thyself at Strife  
Give anxious Cares & endless Wishes room  
But thro the cool sequester'd Vale of Life  
Pursue the silent Tenour of thy Doom.

Far from the Madding Crowd's ignoble Strife;<sup>2</sup>  
Their sober Wishes never knew to stray;  
Along the cool sequester'd Vale of Life  
They Kept the silent (noiseless) Tenour of their Way.

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Fraser published 100 copies of this manuscript in 1884.

<sup>2</sup> Tovey thinks this punctuation shows that "it was the poet's first intention to make the line part of the apostrophe to himself." It is true that by ignoring the full stop after "Doom"—as clearly marked in the manuscript as is the semicolon—we can read on smoothly to the end of the following line. But if we are to place such reliance upon Gray's punctuation as we are asked to do in the case of the semicolon, it is hard to see why we should utterly distrust it in the case of the full stop, which is dead against Tovey's theory. As a matter of fact, in spite of the remark made by Professor Phelps with special reference to this very line—"No wonder he was particular about his punctuation"—the pointing of the Fraser manuscript, at least, is slovenly, inaccurate, chaotic, as the exact reproduction of the rejected stanzas given above will show. Quite apart from matters of punctuation, however, and even from the difference in ink which Tovey himself

Obviously, the second of these stanzas is a mere rifacimento of the first,<sup>1</sup> and Gray could never have intended that they should appear together in the same poem. It seems clear, therefore, that at one time the poem must have come to a full stop with the word "Doom," and that it was resumed, later, on a totally new plan by a return to the villagers. Instead of making a fresh manuscript, Gray simply added his new stanzas to the old one, indicating the passage to be rejected by a marginal line drawn beside it in the Fraser manuscript.

No one seems to have asked concerning these four stanzas why Gray threw three of them out of his final version and changed a fourth almost beyond recognition. They are as good as any that he kept. That he was not so prolific a poet as to make such sacrifices without excellent reason his extraordinary frugality in saving the most pitiful scraps of metrical phraseology will show. Now, a compelling reason for the rejection of these four stanzas would have been a decision to make another end for a poem to which they had formed the original conclusion. In the very fact that they were rejected, we may find corroboration for Mason's statement.<sup>2</sup>

Let us say, then, that Mason was right. This carries for our argument two important corollaries. I have said that the most likely method of defending Gray against himself would be to show that the epitaph and the 24th stanza were written at different times. We have seen that the 24th stanza was made out of the passage which Gray rejected, and we have seen good reason to accept Mason's statement that the *Elegy* once ended with that rejected passage.

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mentions as beginning with "Far from, etc.," it is certain that a sharp turn away from the poet and to the villagers is made in either the first or the second line of the stanza before us. Surely Gray would have wished to mark this turn by the stanza break. To have made it in the second line of the stanza would have been intolerably abrupt. Tovey's argument becomes even more manifestly absurd as he proceeds. (See his edition of Gray.) He seems to ask us to believe that when Gray discovered the duplication of rhymes in the two stanzas quoted above he wrote twelve stanzas rather than change those rhymes! One prefers to entertain the supposition that Mason for once told the truth.

<sup>1</sup> This stanza, it will be observed, shows the same indolence in composition or "verbal parsimony" which we have suspected in stanza 24. In the last two lines phrases originally written to characterize the poet himself are transferred to the description of the villagers.

<sup>2</sup> In the letter of June, 1750, in which he sent the *Elegy* to Walpole, Gray says: "You will, I hope, look upon it as a thing with an end to it; a merit most of my writings have wanted, and are like to want." This need not mean that the poem had not had an end before, but only that it now has a new end with which Gray is better satisfied. When he reminds Walpole that he has "seen the beginning long ago" he does not necessarily imply that what Walpole had previously seen was then regarded as a fragment.

In its original form, then, the 24th stanza was composed before the epitaph was attached to the poem. With regard to the awkward and major question, how Gray got himself into the 24th stanza, we have been able only to remind ourselves of the tyranny exerted over his mind by any form of words once set down, whether by another's pen or by his own, and to hazard what must still seem the mere conjecture that he may appear in that stanza simply because he had appeared in its source. We have succeeded, at any rate, in our attempt to drive a wedge between those two parts of the poem out of which our problem arose. Furthermore, the establishment of Mason's remark concerning the rejected stanzas, taken with our original hypothesis, indicates that at some time prior to June, 1750, Gray had among his papers two independent poems in the *Elegy* stanza:<sup>1</sup> the epitaph, addressed to some person as yet unknown to us, and a poem in twenty-two stanzas about a country churchyard which ended with a clear reference to the poet himself.

In going over his papers, as we know that he did at Walpole's suggestion in 1747, Gray would see that although these two poems were concerned with two different persons they dealt with fairly similar subjects and were in the same stanza and mood. Now, the evidence of patching which we have seen in the 24th stanza and the established fact that an earlier conclusion of the *Elegy* at the word "Doom" was abandoned to make way for another totally different conclusion make it seem a plausible suggestion that Gray set to work to join these two poems, that all of the present *Elegy* from the 19th stanza to the Epitaph is really a sort of bridge thrown between these two pre-existing piers. In this suggestion we have a considerable extension of our original hypothesis. It involves the supposition that Gray fused together not only two poems but two personalities. Such a supposition obviates more than one difficulty. If the Youth is at once Thomas Gray and some other person, the apparent self-praise in the Epitaph is less objectionable and the introduction

<sup>1</sup> The fact that these two poems would have to be in the same stanza makes no difficulty, since they would both be in the mood of elegy. The stanza of *Nocte Tepisum*, *Gondibert*, and *Annus Mirabilis* had been made the conventional form for elegiac verse before 1750 by the poems of Shenstone, Hammond, and Lyttleton. Gray's epitaph on Sir William Williams is written in this stanza. Mr. Gosse thinks that Gray took the form from Hammond's *Love Elegies*. He also thinks that the *Elegy* was begun in 1742. But Hammond's *Love Elegies* were published in 1745.

of the poet himself in the 24th stanza is far less awkward. After the argument that has gone before we are justified in saying that a sufficient verification of the hypothesis in its present form would be the discovery of an actual person for whom the Epitaph may have been written, who fits exactly into the description of the Youth, and who is known to have been so dear to Gray, so like him in tastes and habits and character, that a fusion of his personality with the poet's own would have seemed both natural and desirable. I believe that these requirements are met by Richard West.

Here we step at once into the light of verifiable fact in which alone any hypothesis can be rightly tested. Much is known about West.<sup>1</sup> His letters and poems have long been familiar to students of Gray and of Walpole.<sup>2</sup> He was the closest friend Gray ever had, a youth of much promise and some literary accomplishment who died unknown to fame at the age of 25 in June, 1742, the year in which, according to Mason, the *Elegy* was begun. The friendship between Gray and West began at Eton College, where the two had belonged to what they called the Quadruple Alliance, Walpole and Ashton being the other two members. As Dr. Johnson correctly said, Gray was likely to love much where he loved at all.<sup>3</sup> He knew West far more intimately than Shelley did Keats, or than Milton knew King. It was not to be expected, therefore, that a man such as Gray, with echoes in his ears of Bion and Moschus and Milton, would let his beloved fellow-poet pass without the meed of some melodious tear.

It is well known, of course, that he did not do so. In the summer of 1742 he twice enshrined the name of his friend: in the *Sonnet on the Death of Mr. Richard West* and in the *De Principiis Cogitandi*, which he had begun with a dedication to his friend and which he

<sup>1</sup> See the article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>2</sup> Nearly all of West's writings in prose and verse are to be found in Mason's *Memoirs of Thomas Gray*, Cunningham's edition of Walpole's correspondence, Tovey's *Gray and His Friends*, and Paget Toynbee's *Correspondence of Gray, Walpole, West, and Ashton*.

<sup>3</sup> "Whenever I mentioned Mr. West, he [Gray] looked serious, and seemed to feel the affliction of a recent loss."—Norton Nicholls, *Reminiscences of Gray*. Since Nicholls, born in the year of West's death, did not meet Gray until 1760, these words bear powerful testimony to the depth and endurance of the poet's love for his friend.

abandoned in the month of West's death before it was completed.<sup>1</sup> There is further evidence of his grief in the work of this comparatively fruitful summer. In the Eton College Ode there is a melancholy which, considering the subject, must seem strange to a reader ignorant of the mood in which it was composed. We are to think of the poet as looking from his "'customed hill" at Stoke toward the towers of the school in which he and his three friends had been happy together so few years before. Estranged from two of these, he thinks all the more tenderly of the third, always dearest to him and now dead. The thought of West, of his sad history and early death, sets the key of the entire poem and serves as nucleus for broad and melancholy generalizations not unlike those of the *Elegy*. Much the same thing may be said concerning the *Hymn to Adversity*. The difference in mood between these poems, written later in the summer, and the comparatively light-hearted *Ode to Spring* is explained by a note appended to that poem in the Pembroke manuscript: "The beginning of June, 1742, sent to Fav: not knowing he was then dead."<sup>2</sup>

These considerations suggest a probability that the *Elegy* also, if it was begun during the summer of 1742, is to be associated in some way with West's death. The belief that it was begun at that time has rested hitherto upon the unsupported testimony of Mason, who says, in his *Memoirs of Gray*, after suggesting a connection between the Eton Ode and the *Adversity* and West's death: "I am inclined to believe that the *Elegy in a Country Churchyard* [sic] was begun if not concluded at this time also: though I am aware that as it stands at present the conclusion was of a later date."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Liber Secundus*, begun, according to the Pembroke MS, at Stoke, June, 1742, gets little farther than the statement that with the death of West, who had been "*causa laboris*," the heart had gone out of the work.

<sup>2</sup> "Fav" is for Favonius, Gray's learned nickname for West.

<sup>3</sup> Mason's statement has been accepted by most editors (Wakefield, Mitford, Gosse, Bradshaw, Rolfe, Ward, and many others) and is questioned by Phelps only because he can find no sufficient warrant for it. Speaking as positively as an eyewitness, Mr. Gosse says: "As the question is often asked, and vaguely answered, where was the *Elegy* written, it may at once be said that it was begun at Stoke in October or November, 1742, continued at Stoke immediately after the death of Gray's aunt, Miss Mary Antrobus, in November, 1749, and finished at Cambridge in June, 1750. [Thirty pages farther on—p. 96—Mr. Gosse contradicts this last statement, saying, correctly, that it was finished at Stoke Poges.] And it may be here remarked as a very singular fact that the death of a valued friend seems to have been the stimulus of greatest efficacy in rousing Gray to the

It is regrettable that Gray's somewhat pompous Boswell has not a better reputation for veracity. He loved to pose as Gray's literary adviser. In the statement before us, however, he dates the beginning of the *Elegy* five years before the time when he first met the poet. Neither in this remark nor in what he elsewhere says of the manuscript was there any chance of his personal vanity being involved. Under such circumstances he was apparently as accurate and honest as most men.

Mason's statement obtains its chief support from an objection made to it by the one man who might have known as much about it as he himself did. Speaking of the *Memoirs*, the manuscript of which Mason had sent him for criticism, Walpole writes on December 1, 1773: "The 'Churchyard' was, I am persuaded, posterior to West's death at least three or four years, as you will see by my note. At least I am sure that I had the twelve or more first lines from him above three years after that period, and it was long before he finished it."<sup>1</sup> On the 14th of the same month, having received a reply from Mason, he writes again: "Your account of the *Elegy* puts an end to my other criticism." What were the arguments by which Mason

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composition of poetry, and did in fact incite him to the completion of most of his important poems."—*Life of Gray* in "English Men of Letters Series," p. 66.

When it comes to giving reasons for this sturdy faith Mr. Gosse finds that he is not so sure after all, for he weakens what he has so emphatically said about the date and wrecks our hopes of what he seemed on the verge of saying about the cause of the *Elegy* by the rather lame conclusion: "It is, therefore, perhaps more than a strong impression that makes me conjecture the beginning of the *Elegy* Wrote in a Country Churchyard to date from the funeral of Gray's uncle, Jonathan Rogers, who died at Stoke Poges on the 31st of October, 1742."

It is on record that Gray's Uncle Rogers despised him because he did not ride and hunt, and that Gray cared much more for his Uncle Antrobus, who taught him botany. (See art. "Thomas Gray" in *D.N.B.*) The only influence of Rogers' death upon the poet suggested by Mr. Gosse is that it "completely altered Gray's prospects. . . . His dreams of a life of lettered ease were at an end." As Gray certainly had a life of lettered ease, this does not seem serious. Even if it did seem so at the time to Gray, its seriousness was not of a sort to inspire the *Elegy*. One note of mournful brooding sounds through all the work of that summer of 1742. Shall we be asked to believe that the death of Uncle Rogers caused the melancholy of the Eton Ode and the *Hymn to Adversity*? Mr. Gosse records that Rogers died on October 31, and Gray's notes show that these poems were written in August. There is not a scrap of evidence to show in what part of the summer the *Elegy* was begun. Mr. Gosse dates it so positively "October or November" simply because he wants the date to conform to his theory. Even so, he has not done himself justice; for it seems highly improbable that Gray would have begun in October a poem of mourning for a man who died, as Mr. Gosse points out, on October 31.

<sup>1</sup> Gray would not in any case have sent Walpole any part of the *Elegy* for "three or four years" after the death of West, because he and Walpole were not reconciled until November, 1745. Walpole's recollection, therefore, proves nothing to the purpose.

silenced Walpole's doubts we can only surmise. It is probable, however, that they were in line with the reason which he implies in the *Memoirs* for dating the poem 1742, connecting the poem with West's death still more closely than he cared to do in his book.

That this suggestion is at least plausible is shown by a consideration of that profound melancholy upon which Gray gently rallied his friend until he knew its secret and wholly adequate causes.<sup>1</sup> Gray did not learn those causes until his return to England in September, 1741, when West had only nine months to live, and probably they were then communicated to him orally, for no mention of the matter is to be found in the letters of the two friends.<sup>2</sup> During the winter of 1741-42 which the two spent together in London there was abundant opportunity for Gray to make West's woe his own. Upon this matter Gosse writes, completely ignoring its significance for the *Elegy*:

In extreme agitation, West confided to his friend a terrible secret which he had discovered and which Gray preserved in silence until the close of his life, when he told it to Norton Nicholls.<sup>3</sup>

I suggest that he may have given some hints to Mason also, and that it was upon these that Mason chiefly relied in dating the poem as he did. Mason's own words, which seem to have been written with studied reticence, deserve close attention:

His other friend, Mr. West, he found on his return [from the European tour] oppressed by sickness and a load of family misfortunes. These the sympathetic heart of Mr. Gray made his own. He did all in his power, for he was now with him in London, to soothe the sorrows of his friend . . . but his cares were vain. The distresses of Mr. West's mind had already too far affected a body from the first weak and delicate.<sup>4</sup>

Mason shows in these words clear knowledge that West's chief malady was a mental distress which had reference to his family.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. letters to West of December, 1736, August 22, 1737, and LI, LII in Tovey's *Letters of Gray*.

<sup>2</sup> On June 5, 1740, West writes to Gray a letter showing, as Mason says, "much agitation of mind which he endeavours to conceal by unusual carelessness of manner": "Dear Gray, Consider me in the condition of one that has lived these two years without any person that he can speak freely to. . . . Have we known one another enough, that I should expect or demand sincerity from you? Yes, Gray, I hope I have." And there he turns suddenly away to another subject, as though he had been on the verge of a confession but had thought better of it. There is nothing in the antecedent correspondence to explain this letter.

<sup>3</sup> *Life of Gray*, "English Men of Letters Series," p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> Mason's *Memoirs of Gray*, Section III.



This knowledge he could have got only from Gray, who, in telling him so much, would probably have told the cause of that distress. It may well be that he was told or that he saw the intimate connection of all this with the *Elegy*, and that in his cogent letter he told what he knew. In so doing, he would point out that the secret was not for the public eye. Considering that Walpole was in 1773 already looking forward to the publication of his own letters, these probabilities may explain the curiously non-committal nature of the reply: "Your account of the *Elegy* puts an end to my other criticism."

Fortunately, these rather tenuous arguments need not stand alone. Turning to the secret of West's life and death, we see that the mystery in which Gray, Mason, and Walpole enshrouded it was entirely justified, that West was marked by Melancholy for her own in an altogether unimaginary sense, and that his talent was really blighted in the bud in just such a way as to make his story a fit nucleus not only for the Eton Ode but for the larger musings of the *Elegy*. Concerning this secret, then, we read:

It is said that the cause of his [West's] disorder . . . was the fatal discovery of the treachery of a supposed friend, and the viciousness of a mother whom he tenderly loved. This man, under the mask of friendship to him and his family, intrigued with his mother, and robbed him of his peace of mind, his health, and his life.<sup>1</sup>

That West may have been tortured by even darker suspicions is made evident in Mr. Gosse's edition of Gray's works:

In a note hitherto unpublished, Dyce says that Mitford told him "that West's death was hastened by mental anguish, there having been good reason to suspect that *his mother poisoned his father*."

Tovey's remarks upon West's secret and its effect on Gray are so much to the point that one wonders why he did not make the application to the *Elegy*.

Always careless of his health [says he, speaking of West], it is probable that the knowledge of his mother's guilt, which came to him at some time in the last three years of his life, made him more so: that it increased his restlessness; that what he knew of bad made him suspect worse. . . . We should never guess from the slightly ruffled surface of the correspondence, what deep sighs those are

Che fanno pullular quest' acqua al sommo,

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Tovey's *Gray and His Friends*, p. 15, as from Mitford's *Life of Gray*. My edition of Mitford does not contain the passage, which is really taken verbatim from Norton Nicholls, who records the words as Gray's own.

but the reader should know that, beneath, a little Hamlet-like tragedy is going on: perhaps not without its good Horatio. . . . West's last words to Gray, "Vale, et vive paullisper cum vivis," were written in a cheerful spirit; but as his friend thought upon them in after days, they may have seemed like an echo of the pathetic commission

. . . . Absent thee from felicity awhile  
And in this harsh world draw thy breath in pain  
To tell my story.<sup>1</sup>

One can imagine no more forceful way of expressing the probable effect of West's sorrow and death upon Gray than these words of an editor who seems to have thought that it had no literary effect whatever aside from the rather nugatory sonnet and the breaking off of the *De Principiis Cogitandi*. Tovey's allusion to Hamlet is very apt. For Gray to have told West's story, however, would have been the reverse of a friendly service to West's memory. The impulse to expression is countered by an equally powerful reason for silence, and in the conflict of these currents of feeling the naturally dilatory Gray comes to resemble the Lord Hamlet himself more closely than he does Horatio. He could not tell West's story, and for that very reason he was the less able to forget it. In the jargon of our day, the secret may well have become for him a "complex," shaping and coloring the whole fabric of his thought.

In a letter written to Walpole in 1747,<sup>2</sup> Gray hints more of his feeling regarding West than anywhere else. He says:

I should not care how unwise the ordinary run of readers might think my affection for him, provided those few that ever loved anybody, or judged of anything rightly, might, from such little remains, be moved to consider what he would have been; and to wish that heaven had granted him a longer life and a mind more at ease.

These words express the exact mood out of which the brooding in the *Elegy* upon unacknowledged merit would most naturally have sprung. They bring out with regard to West precisely the three major differentia of the Youth: his unusual promise, his uneasy mind, his early death.

The letter just referred to was written in answer to Walpole's suggestion that Gray prepare a volume to contain West's verse and

<sup>1</sup> Tovey, *Gray and His Friends*, p. 17.

Given in Mason's *Memoirs*, Section IV, letter 4.

his own. Although this plan was never carried out, it set Gray to thinking more than usually about West, it caused him to make an inventory of his own verse, and it provided precisely the right incentive to the building of such a bridge as I have suggested between the two waiting piers of what is now the *Elegy*.

Why and how Gray built this bridge we can only conjecture. In the case of such a poet as he the mere *cacoethes emendi* provides, perhaps, a sufficient motive. He may have seen, however, in a combination of his churchyard poem with the Epitaph a chance to hint enough of West's story to give his own mind relief. Possibly the two fragments were originally composed with the intention that they should form parts of the same poem, and in that case they were joined together in pursuance of a long-postponed plan. Again, Gray may have thought there would be something appropriate to the projected volume in a set of verses made by joining two poems which dealt with the two authors of that volume respectively. Such a combination may have seemed to him like a fusion of West's personality with his own.<sup>1</sup> Finally, he may have been actuated by an artistic motive—a desire to provide a concrete example of the abstract truths laid down in the churchyard poem.

Concerning the method it is well to speak as cautiously as we have about the motive. Gray would see that he could not simply attach the Epitaph to the longer poem. Certain transitional stanzas would be needed in which the change from general musings upon obscure death and unacknowledged merit to a particular instance of both would be graduated and in which the reader would be prepared for what is unusual in the Epitaph by being shown something of the person therein commemorated. Let us say that he first rejects, as unsuited to his larger design, the last stanzas of his longer poem and

<sup>1</sup> Tennyson's *In Memoriam* deals with a situation similar to that which I suggest as the cause of the *Elegy*. Allowing for the passage of exactly a century between the publications of the two poems and for the far greater range of thought and feeling in the later poet, a comparison of the two is illuminating. Tennyson for the most part sets Hallam far above himself, and yet there are examples in his poem of the identification of the dead with the living friend. A rarefied and spiritualized phase of this feeling contributes greatly to the triumphant conclusion. In the 85th canticle there is a clear statement of the idea at just the stage at which we are supposing that Gray may have used it:

Whatever way my days incline,  
I felt and feel, though left alone,  
His being working in mine own,  
The footsteps of his life in mine.

then begins his bridge with "Far from the madding crowd." After this, although the four following stanzas are still general in application, he builds straight toward the Epitaph. In the 24th stanza he makes the change from general to particular, at the same time bringing himself into the picture and giving the reader reason to suppose that all the rest of the poem deals with him. Just how this happened it is impossible to say. Perhaps it was caused by careless and indolent treatment of the scraps out of which the stanza was made. It may be that Gray took pleasure in thus associating himself as closely as possible with West in what might be regarded as a composite portrait. In either case, he left the stanza in a bad state, failing to overcome the difficulties it presented. Perhaps he did not clearly realize what it made him say of himself in the Epitaph.<sup>1</sup> Or he may have seen its defects and yet have decided to let it stand, not expecting that the *Elegy* would ever be published and feeling that the stanza would pass muster with the few friends who would read it.<sup>2</sup>

It has passed muster with the world. On or about June 12, 1750, Gray completed the poem which had been on his desk for eight years and sent it to Walpole immediately, as though fearing that he might change his mind.<sup>3</sup> The poem's later history is well known. On February 1, 1751, Gray asked Walpole to arrange with Dodsley for an immediate printing, without the author's name, in order to forestall publication in the *Magazine of Magazines*. In a very curious letter of Ash Wednesday, 1751, he thanks Walpole for the "great decency" with which he has managed this "little misfortune," and particularly for the advertisement in which Walpole had said—at Gray's request—that the poem had come into his hands by accident. "This advertisement," says Gray, "saves my honour, and in a manner *bien flatteuse pour moi*." This fear of printer's ink seems

<sup>1</sup> "A writer who, like Gray, secretes his poetry line by line and spreads the process over years, seems to fall into the same faults which are more generally due to haste. He pores over his conceptions so long that he becomes blind to defects obvious to a fresh observer, and rather misses his point, as he introduces minute alterations, without noticing their effect on the context."—Leslie Stephen, *Hours in a Library*, speaking of "The Bard."

<sup>2</sup> "The stanzas [of the *Elegy*] which I now enclose to you have had the misfortune, by Mr. Walpole's fault, to be made still more public, for which they certainly never were meant; but it is too late to complain . . . I should have been glad that you and two or three more people had liked them, which would have satisfied my ambition on this head amply."—Gray to Dr. Wharton, December 17, 1750.

<sup>3</sup> "Having finished a thing [the *Elegy*] of which you have seen the beginning long ago, I immediately send it to you."—Gray to Walpole, June 12, 1750.

something more than a late example of gentlemanly reluctance to professed authorship. At any rate, the *Elegy* was taken out of Gray's hands and beyond his power forever. The poem apparently intended only for the indulgent eyes of a few friends was spread before the world. In two months it went through four editions. In 1753 Gray was so much encouraged by its steadily increasing popularity that he allowed it to appear with his own name. It became a classic in the poet's lifetime. No atrabilious pedant focused attention upon its flaws, for classics are not supposed to have flaws. No ill-conditioned Zoilus pointed out the awkward fact that in the Epitaph Gray seemed to speak of himself with unreserved praise; for Gray was known to be a gentleman, and gentlemen do not do such things. In 1781 Dr. Johnson gave the poem the official stamp of his approval, since when almost every critic and editor has felt it his duty solely to admire.<sup>1</sup> There appeared, to be sure, in 1783, the anonymous *Criticism of the Elegy*, purporting to be by Dr. Johnson and attributed to Professor John Young. The author of this clever brochure attempts to carry into his slightly hypercritical but searching analysis the same spirit which he found everywhere in Dr. Johnson's *Life of Gray* except in the comment upon the *Elegy*. Subtle and brilliant as it is, however, this attack upon a reigning favorite had the fate of such attacks, and is now forgotten.<sup>2</sup> John Scott and Vicesimus Knox ventured some timidly derogatory remarks with similar results. No one even of these Pococurantes made objection to the poet's apparent self-praise or made any inquiry about the Youth. Dr. Johnson had not done so. Since *Ursa Major* oped his lips no dog has dared to bark.

It will be recalled that we have found it difficult to fit the 27th stanza into any merely conventional or imaginary portrait. Considered as a description of West tormented by his secret woe, the stanza is appropriate enough. Observing that the Youth is actually

<sup>1</sup> E.g. "What has kept Gray's contribution to the Churchyard school alive and popular through all changes in taste, is its absolute perfection of language."—W. L. Phelps, *Selections from the Poetry and Prose of Thomas Gray*, p. xxv. A reading of Mitford's Appendix D, which points out ineptitudes and solecisms in almost every stanza, should dispel this illusion.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Gosse, in his edition of Gray, calls this a "satirical" book. It is that only in the sense that it tells some home truths about the poem. Hamlet uses the word in the same way: "The satirical slave says here that old men have grey beards . . . ; all of which, sir, though I most powerfully and potently believe, yet I hold it not honesty to have it thus set down."

killed by mental distress, we have thought it unlikely that Gray ever conceived such a possibility for himself. Applied to Richard West, what is said of the Youth's death becomes not a vague and improbable prophecy but a record of fact. The two stanzas just preceding the Epitaph have little value when read as referring to *Ignotus, Poeta*, or Gray, implying only that the Youth dwelt apart, like Wordsworth's Lucy, so that few could know when he ceased to be. Read as referring to West, they remind us that his death was entirely unexpected by Gray, who learned of it through some verses in a newspaper sixteen days after the event.

It is well known that Gray used as a model for one of the best stanzas of the *Elegy*, the 9th, certain lines from West's most considerable English poem, his *Monody on the Death of Queen Caroline*. I have found no reference to the fact that at the end of this same poem West refers to himself as "A Muse as yet unheeded and unknown."<sup>1</sup> When he echoed this line in the Epitaph Gray may have consciously accepted West's estimate of himself.<sup>2</sup>

In discussing stanzas 25, 26 we found the evidence that Gray is there writing about himself insufficient to withstand a strong counterclaim for the person with whom the rest of the poem seemed to be concerned, and we postponed decision upon these stanzas to wait for further knowledge. A strong counterclaim for West may be entered on the basis of a certain *Elegia* which he sent to Gray on September 17, 1738. Lines 5-10 of this lucubration read:

Et mihi rura placent, et quoq; saepe volentem  
Duxerunt Dryades per sua prata Deae;  
Sicubi lympha fugit liquido pede, sive virentem  
Magna, decus nemoris, quercus opacat humum:  
Illuc mane novo vagor, illuc vespere sero,  
Et, noto ut jacui gramine, nota cano.

<sup>1</sup> Gray may have had this line in mind when he wrote to West from Florence, September 25, 1740: "For whether you be at the top of Fame or entirely unknown to Mankind. . . ." Cf. also his *Agrippina*, ll. 39-40: "He lived unknown to fame or fortune."

<sup>2</sup> The concluding lines of West's verse epistle *Ad Amicos*, July 4, 1737, may have lingered in Gray's mind:

Unknown and silent will depart my breath,  
Nor Nature e'er take notice of my death.  
Yet some there are (ere sunk in endless night)  
Within whose breasts my monument I'd write:  
Loved in my life, lamented in my end,  
Their praise would crown me, as their precepts mend.

The fact that this epistle was quarried out of Tibullus (Book III, *Elegy V*) and a letter from Pope to Steele would not lessen its influence upon Gray.

Here is one who wanders abroad at the peep of dawn and in the late sunset. Here is the "brook that babbles by," and here the "favorite tree." The elements of stanzas 25, 26, and also of the stanza describing his hero's evening walk which Gray rejected, are present in West's description of the way he spent his time in the country. Those elements were to be found elsewhere, of course, for nothing in either West's or Gray's lines is original, but perhaps not in so compact a form. Since the first part of the *Elegy*, already written, dealt with the villagers, one aspect of the poet's problem in building his bridge was to bring West into relation with the village life. There is no record that he ever had been with West in the country. His accurate memory of all the little that his friend had written, however, would suggest to him that in the *Elegia* West had given just the information he wanted. Pitifully inadequate as the passage was, the product of an erudite echolalia, Gray must have brooded upon it more than once in his effort to picture his friend's last days. It was all that he had.

Clearly, the character and history of Richard West fit closely into the description and epitaph of the Youth to Fortune and to Fame Unknown. He was Gray's dearest friend. He was solitary, "crazed with care," and a poet. His real promise was cut short by an early death. Fair Science certainly did not frown upon him, for he was said by Bryant, a school fellow of both, to have been more learned than Gray. Although his birth was not humble—he was a grandson of Bishop Burnet and son of a vice-chancellor of Ireland—neither was it noble. The phrase "humble birth," indeed, gives no more trouble in interpreting the Epitaph with reference to West than it does when considering the Epitaph as written by Gray for himself.<sup>1</sup> The person commemorated in the Epitaph is characterized by a line very similar to one in which West had characterized himself. We have seen the difficulties into which the view that the Youth stands for Gray necessarily leads. There is nothing in the description and

<sup>1</sup> As late as 1750 it was still the custom in England to inter the bodies of persons of gentle birth within the church. Richard West himself was buried inside the church at Hatfield, Hertfordshire, where there is a tablet inscribed to his memory. But Gray could not give the Youth "a storied urn or animated bust." The epitaph may have been slightly changed so as to conform with the necessity that the Youth should lie in the churchyard. Matthew Arnold, with greater probability, explains "humble birth" as pue to "straining after point."



Epitaph which does not harmonize with the theory that the Youth stands for Richard West.

A hypothesis has met its supreme test when it solves not only the problem which it was designed to cover but also the cognate problems that arise during further investigation. The view that the Youth is a surrogate for Richard West does more than absolve Gray from the charge of self-laudation. The circumstances of West's life and death are such as to illumine several stanzas of the *Elegy* with light not to be had elsewhere, brightening their significance, enhancing their poignancy and charm. This view is in harmony with the testimony in favor of 1742 as the year in which the *Elegy* was begun, which testimony was given by a man who seems to have had better grounds for his assertion than any which he finally saw fit to publish. Following this clue, we have been able to conjecture with some plausibility the stages through which the poem passed.<sup>1</sup> Finally, this theory enables us to place Gray's poem definitely among the elegies, such as *Lycidas* and *Thyrsis*, which mingle general reflection with the grief of personal bereavement.<sup>2</sup> We may safely say, then, that the hypothesis with which we began has justified itself, and that it has led to this sound conclusion: *aut West, aut Diabolus*.

"It is no less remarkable than true," says Coleridge, "with how little examination works of polite literature are commonly perused, not only by the mass of readers but by men of first rate ability, till some accident or chance discussion have aroused their attention."<sup>3</sup> These words are somewhat to the present purpose, but the footnote which he adds by way of illustration is still more so:

I felt almost as if I had been newly couched when, by Mr. Wordsworth's conversation, I had been induced to re-examine with impartial strictness Gray's celebrated *Elegy*. I had long before detected the defects of the Bard; but the *Elegy* I had considered proof against all fair attacks. At all events,

<sup>1</sup> "It is, unfortunately, impossible to say what form it [the *Elegy*] originally took, or what lines or thoughts now existing in it are part of the original scheme."—Gosse, *Life of Gray*, chap. iii.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Gosse says that the *Elegy* "belongs to a class apart, as it is not addressed to the memory of any particular person." (Art. "Elegy," *Encycl. Brit.*, 11th ed.) This statement ignores the fact that many elegies of the generalized type—e.g., those of Shenstone and Hammond—appeared in Gray's own time, not to mention those of the Latin elegists, with which Gray was well acquainted.

<sup>3</sup> *Biographia Literaria*, chap. ii.

whatever pleasure I may have lost by the clearer perception of the faults in certain passages, has been more than repaid me by the additional delight with which I read the remainder.

If any loss of pleasure has resulted from the present effort to re-examine a great and celebrated poem with impartial strictness, it should be repaid by what Coleridge calls "additional delight." While revealing a flaw in continuity, our analysis has discovered a vital principle of unity in the poem which has long gone unsuspected. Without destroying that grandeur of generality for which Dr. Johnson justly praises the *Elegy*, our study has found in it a particular personal application which greatly deepens its human interest. To think of Gray's *Elegy* as his lament for a friend who died of a broken heart caused by his discovery of a tragic secret is to make it pulse and throb with thrilling pathos. Far from degrading this poem which has passed into the common heritage of man, the conclusions at which we have arrived lift it to a higher plane of beauty and power than any hitherto claimed for it.

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## A NOTE ON SCALIGER'S *POETICES*

The *Onomasticon* of Julius Pollux, a Greek grammarian of the second century A.D., is generally recognized by modern classical scholars as furnishing important information concerning the ancient Greek theater, but the fact has apparently been overlooked that it furnished the scholars of the Renaissance with the information they also were seeking concerning the methods used to present the ancient drama. What seems to be a particularly clear instance of the indebtedness of the Renaissance scholars to this source has lately come to my notice in Book I, chapter xxi, of the *Poetices* of Scaliger,<sup>1</sup> the chapter entitled "Theatrum." The portion of this chapter which deals with the stage entrances and with the "machines" of the Greek stage follows unmistakably the passage of the *Onomasticon*, Book IV, sections 124-32, which treats of these matters.<sup>2</sup> I quote here from the Latin translation of the latter work which is included with the Greek text in the Hemsterhuys edition published at Amsterdam in 1706. The passage from Scaliger under consideration I have quoted without omissions; the passage from Pollux is quoted with no change in the order of the text but with certain passages omitted, omissions being indicated wherever they occur.

### POLLUX

Trium vero circa scenam januarum, media quidem, aut regia, caverna, aut domus inclyta, vel primum actum absolvens dicitur. Dextra vero, secundi actus diverticulum est.

Sed sinistra, aut vilissimam personam, aut templum desolatum habet, aut deserta est. Caeterum in

### SCALIGER

Scenae partes alii aliae. In Comodia tres. Media, potentiorum aedes insigniores. In Satyra medius locus erat speluncae. In media scena habebat *πρωταγωνιστής*. In dextro diuersorio *ὁ δευτεραγωνιστής*. Sinistra humillimam quanque personā capiebat: aut fanum desertum: aut omnino vacua. In Tragoedia

<sup>1</sup> Edition of 1561, Ben Jonson's copy of which is in the library of the University of Chicago.

<sup>2</sup> The last words of this chapter of Scaliger are, "verum eas petes ab optimo cluē nostro Saraina, & Vitruvii codicibus," which would seem to be an inadequate statement of indebtedness. Presumably "Saraina" is the translator Lello Carani.

## POLLUX

Tragoedia dextra quidem janua hospitium est; carcer vero sinistra. Sed tentorium in Comoedia domui adjacet tapetiis repraesentatum, & iumentorum stabulum est, ejusque januae majores, videntur κλισιάδες dictae, ad curruum ingressionem. & apparatus. Caeterum in Antiphanis Acestriis, etiam officina erat id, quod tentorium dicitur. Quod antea bobus agrestibus, & asinis stabulum fuerat, fecerat officinam. Apud utramque vero duarum januarum quae in media scena sunt, etiam aliae duae sunt. Utrique una, ad quas versatiles machinae compactae sunt.

dextra quidem ea, quae extra urbem sunt repraesentans.

sinistra vero ea, quae ex urbe ducit, maxime quae ex portu, & Deos inducit marinos, & alia omnia, quae graviora existentia, machina ferre nequit. Si vero machinae hae versatiles convertantur, dextra quidem locum mutat, utraque vero locum subalternant. Ingressum porro, dexter quidem, ex agro, e portu, aut ex urbe ducit. qui vero aliunde pedites veniunt, juxta alterum ingrediuntur. Ingressi autem juxta orchestram, ad scenam per scalas ascendunt. Scalae autem gressus, gradus vocantur.

Sed pegma [ἐγκύκλιμα] supra ligna quaedam alta scala est, cui thronus insidet. exhibet vero secreta, quae sub scena in domiciliis fiunt. & hujus officii verbum est, in orbem

## SCALIGER

dextra porta peregrinum aut hospitem emittebat: in sinistra Carcer: media Regia. Factū verò aliquādo fuit, vt in Comoedia Graeci tentorium quoque ponerunt, κλισίον appellabant. Ibi nonnulli Poetae iumentorum stationem designarunt. iccirco aditus ostio latiore: quae ostia propterea dicta κλισιάδες. per ea transmittébāt caros & iumenta. alii eiusmodi partem ad officinae vsum trāstulēre: sicut Antipho in Acestriis. Media vtrinque habebat alias interdum portas, quarum postibus essent affixae machinae. Eae quia pro re ac tempore circumgebantur, περίακτοι sunt appellatae. nam personarum aspectus quum esset tectus à spectatoribus, repentē ex occasione cōparebant nuncii, & peregrini, aut ciues peregrē, exulēsve postliminio reuertentes. Itaque dextra machina afferebantur ea quae extra urbem acta factāve essent, aut agenda intus forent ex praescripto propter iura suburbiorum, oppidorum, ciuitatum, municipiorum, coloniarum, sociatarum, peregrinarum, pacatarum, hosticarum. À laeua machina, reddebātur quae in vrbe iussu permissiue populi aut Principum: eōve, iisve inuitis, gesta, acta, transacta fuissent, aut ex consilio futura viderentur. Id quod factum est ab Euripide in Oresta. Atque inter haec eodem iure censebantur, siqua è portu afferentur. cuiusmodi est in Palutina Amphitryone, in Mercatore, in Hecyra. Prisci Tragici etiam deos aquaticos per eam introduxēre, Acheloum, Thetin, Proteum, Arethusam. Si

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circumvolvi. Machina autem, super quam pegma inducitur, *εἰσκήλημα* nominatur. & hoc juxta singulas januas observandum est, & fere juxta singulas domos. Machina vero, Deos exhibet, Heroës illos aërios, Bellerophontes scilicet, & Perseos. & dicitur juxta sinistrum introitum, super scenam esse altitudine.

Quod vero in Tragoedia, machina, hoc in Comoedia, crade dicitur. Unde patet quod ficus imitatio est. Ficum etenim, Attici *κράδην* vocant. Exostram porro idem, quod pegma esse volunt. Sed specula, speculatoribus, aut aliis, quicumque speculantur, extructa est. Caeterum murus, turrisque, ut veluti de alto videre liceat. Specula porro directrix ipso nomine officium suum refert. Distegia vero, nonnunquam in regia domo duplex coenaculum, veluti a quo Antigone in Phoenissis exercitum speculatur. nonnunquam vero dolium est, a quo tegulis deiciunt. Caeterum in Comoedia, a distegia lenones quidam prospiciunt, & vetula Mulier despicit. Machina autem fulminea, & tonitru. illa quidem, est alta versatilis machina. hoc vero in posteriore parte sub scena, urnae sunt lapillis plenae, qui impulsus, per aenea vasa delabuntur.

.....  
Gradus porro Charonii, juxta sedilium descensus positi, Manes a se emittunt. Sed anapeismata, hoc quidem in scena est, veluti fluminis transgressionem repraesentans, aut aliud hujusmodi: illud vero circa

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quae personae machinis non circumagebantur, sed pedibus accedebant, per alteram introducebantur.

Duo haec machinarum genera. Tertium *εγκήλημα* nominabant: alii *ἐξώστραν*. Erat haec sedes publicis elata, strata longuriis, super quibus sella. Destinabatur locus is ad ea recitanda, quae secretò patrata essent in aedibus. qualia in *Œdipode* Sophoclis, *Plauti Amphitryone*, & *Casina* & aliis.

Quantum genus quod in summa trepidatione remedia arcessebat humanis maiora. Demissa nanque deos ostendebat ex improviso. id quod etiā ad proverbum rerū desperatarū traxere, *θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς*. Plurima exēpla Tragicis omnibus, & in *Plauti Amphitryone*. Alterum eiusdē machinae officium, quum veheret per aerem Heroas: veluti *Tlepolemum*, *Medeam*, *Perseum*, *Bellerophontem*. Idem officium in Comoedia: nomen diuersum, *κράδη* enim dicebatur: qualis *Cantharus* siue *Scarabaeus Aristophanis*. Est praeterea machinae genus quintum quo rapiebantur personae, *γέρανος* dictum. Hoc in fabulis *Aurora Memnonem* rapuit: *Boreas Orithyam*. Restes quibus per aerem ferebantur, *ἑώραι*. Proxima huic alia versatilis, unde nomen *στροφάϊον*: cuius opera Heroes in deos transformabantur. Eius vsus in *Hercule oetaeo*, & in ea quam feceramus, *Indigete*. Fuit & alia circumductilis, quam *κεραννοσκοπίον* vocabant Graeci.

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scalas est, per quas ascendunt,  
Furiae.

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Ea valde celsa post scenam, in qua  
vtres calculorum pleni cum aeneis  
vasis, vnde fulgura exibant, tonitrus  
exaudiebantur, fulmina mittebantur,  
vt in Aiace Oileo. quare etiam  
*βρονταίων* dicta. Machinae similis,  
quae nō esset machina, Charoniae  
scalae: vnde simulachra emitte-  
bētur. quemadmodum in Hecuba  
Euripidae. Priuatim, quibus ē locis  
exiliebant Erinnyes *ἀναβαθμοί*, gradus  
imi. quales in Œdipo & Oreste, &  
Athamante, & Amata nostra. In  
scena speculae quoq; de turri aut  
de muro affingebantur: nec absimili  
specie locus, quem *φρυκτώριον* nomi-  
nabāt: ex quo facibus dabatur signum  
praesidiis, vt aduentantibus hostibus  
expedirent arma: vnde & nomen  
quum alibi, tum in Rheso.

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## THE PERLESVAUS AND THE STORY OF THE COWARD KNIGHT

In a previous study<sup>1</sup> we examined the possible relations between the *Perlesvaus* and the *Vengeance Raguidel*, an inquiry which led us to a discussion of the parallels existing between the prose romance, and the *Wauchier* continuation of Chrétien's *Perceval*. We will now turn our attention to the *Manessier* section of the last-named romance, and examine the nature of the connection between the story of the Coward Knight as there related, and the more elaborate version of the same adventure as given in the *Perlesvaus*. The prose romance is much the fuller, falling into two distinct and separate parts, while the *Manessier* parallel affects only a portion of the later section. Thus the *Perlesvaus* claims priority of treatment.

At an early point in the romance<sup>2</sup> we read how Gawain, after his tragic adventure at the castle of Marin le Jaloux, is riding in melancholy mood through the forest, when he meets a knight whose appearance and demeanor excite his astonishment. He is riding backward, his face to the tail of his steed—*il chevauchoit à recullons an mout sauvage manière, son devant derrière*—the reins passed over his head, across his chest, his shield upside down, and the rest of his armor slung around his neck. Hearing Gawain's approach, he calls out, begging him to do him no harm, he is the Coward Knight. Gawain, highly amused, assures him that he need fear nothing at his hands, and asks who he may be. The youth answers that he is knight to the Damsel of the Car, from whom Gawain has but recently parted. Assured of Gawain's friendship with his lady, and recognizing his shield, the Coward announces he has now no further fear for himself, he will alight, and arm himself properly. Gawain assists him, and while they are thus engaged another knight rides up, and challenges Gawain on behalf of Marin le Jaloux. The Coward Knight warns Gawain to place no trust in his aid, whereon that hero pertinently remarks that he has fought many battles unaided, and may well

<sup>1</sup> *Romania*, XLVII. 349-59.

<sup>2</sup> Branch IV, title 5.

fight this also. As result of the combat the knight is vanquished, and, having sworn fealty to Gawain, rides off. After his departure the Coward Knight assures Gawain that, in his place, he would have yielded without striking a blow. Gawain says evidently he desires naught but peace, whereon the Coward Knight makes answer that naught but evil can come of war, he has never been wounded hitherto, save by some fortuitous blow from the branch of a tree, or such like. He sees Gawain's face all scarred and seamed. He makes small account of such valor, and prays God every day to save him from such harm. He will now follow his lady, the Damsel of the Car, and the two part.

Later on<sup>1</sup> Gawain meets him again, this time properly armed, but fleeing from a knight whose appearance has struck him with terror, apparently Perceval, as Gawain meets him immediately afterward. There is no further encounter between Gawain and the Coward Knight; when we meet him again it is in connection with Perceval.

In Branch XVII, 4, that hero, after his meeting with the two priests, one of whom adores the Cross, while the other smites It, rides into the forest. Presently he meets a knight, who cries to him from afar not to touch him, he is the Coward Knight and man to the Damsel of the Car. Perceval, looking at him, sees that he is a tall and comely youth, well armed, and asks him, if he be such a coward, why does he ride in armor? The knight replies that otherwise someone might attack, and slay him. Perceval asks incredulously, Is he really such a coward as he makes out? "Yea," replies the other, "and much more so!" This is too much for Perceval, who, thoroughly in accordance with his character in the romances, lacks Gawain's sense of humor, and is scandalized, and not amused; he promptly tells the youth he is going to change all that, he must come with him, and he will make him hardy, the name of Coward ill becomes so fair a youth. The Coward Knight protests he has no desire to change either his nature or his name, whereon Perceval curtly tells him he can take his choice of dying there and then, or of coming with him, and the youth, protesting, yields to *force majeure*. Driving his unwilling companion before him, Perceval rides on, and presently hears cries for help. A tall knight appears, leading two dishevelled maidens, whom he is

<sup>1</sup> Br. XIII, 1.

beating unmercifully. Perceval asks the reason for such treatment, and the knight explains that these ladies have dispossessed him of his heritage. The maidens protest; he is a robber, the last survivor of a band which Gawain and Lancelot had dispersed, bestowing their hold on the ladies, and their brother, a poor knight, who had kindly entreated these heroes. This is the vengeance of the robber. (This story has been previously recounted by the author.) Perceval says that is quite true, he was present at the gift, and he commands the knight to release the maidens. The latter refuses, and challenges Perceval. The Coward Knight counsels flight, but Perceval, putting him forward, says this is his champion, and the robber knight promptly attacks. At first the Coward Knight supports his blows without any attempt at self-defense, and Perceval begins to wonder whether he be not in truth a hopeless and incurable craven, but when the youth really feels himself wounded, and sees his own blood, the scene changes with surprising swiftness. Realizing that his adversary is determined to kill him, the lad draws his sword, and spurring his horse, rides on his foe so fiercely that he overthrows him. Then, dismounting, he tears off his helmet, smites off his head, and presents it to Perceval as fruits of his first joust. Perceval applauds him, and bids him see that he never relapse into his previous cowardice, which was a disgrace to any knight. The youth admits naively that, had he known it was so easy, he had been valiant before this. Perceval commits the maidens to his care, bestowing on him the title of the Knight Hardy, and the two separate.

Toward the close of the romance,<sup>1</sup> we assist at the death of the reformed Coward. He is mortally wounded in a combat with Aristot, who has carried off Perceval's sister, whom he proposes to marry and, in accordance with his pleasing custom, slay, after a year of wedded life. Perceval, who is on his way to Aristot's castle, comes up in the middle of the combat, and announcing his arrival to assist at his sister's wedding, smites Aristot through the breast and cuts off his head. He then finds to his sorrow, that the Knight Hardy has been mortally wounded. He carries him to a Hermitage near at hand, assists at his confession and death, and makes all arrangements for his honorable burial.

<sup>1</sup> Br. XXXII, 2.

Now this is a very good and well-constructed story, all the parts of which hang together: the absurd appearance of the knight at his entrance on the scene; Gawain's good-natured amusement, and practical indifference—he is too much occupied with his own concerns to have any desire to interfere with another's—Perceval's drastic intervention, with its resultant effect of transformation from cowardice to courage; finally the death of the knight practically in the service of him to whom he owes his rehabilitation—Aristot has attacked him because he avowed himself a friend of Perceval. It is certainly a good tale. Did the author of the *Perlesvaus* invent it, or did he derive it from an earlier version? If this latter be the case, does he give the story in its original form, or has it undergone modification? We will see if Manessier throws any light on the subject.

The adventure in question occurs toward the conclusion of Manessier's continuation of the *Perceval*. That hero, riding through a forest, meets a young and handsome knight who is journeying in strange guise. His armor, instead of being properly adjusted, is hanging from his back:

Et son hauberc et son escu,  
Et son hiaume a son col pendu,  
Et li trainoient contreval  
Sour la croupe de son cheval [vss. 42137-40].

His lance is fastened lengthwise to his steed. Emphasis is laid upon the good looks of the knight:

Et fu li plus biaux chevaliers  
C'on trovast en .XXX. miliers.  
Onques si biaux de son avis  
Ne vit de cors ne de vis;  
La face avoit bele et vermeille  
Et li cors grant à grant merveille [vss. 42149-54].

But his courage is by no means equal to his beauty; on Perceval's inquiring why he rides in such strange fashion, he explains that it is for fear any should do him harm, or force him to fight:

Mieus vuel en pais parmi la terre  
Aler por mes affaires querre  
Que moi faire battre et ferir,  
Que biens ne m'en poroit venir? [vss. 42167-70].

What would he gain by being wounded to death, or forced to remain in bed till his hurts were healed? Perceval reads him a lecture on his unknighly conduct, and induces him to arm himself fittingly. They ride on together and presently hear cries for help. They find two maidens about to be thrown into a fire, while ten robber knights look on. The maidens appeal to them for aid, but the Coward Knight advises Perceval to leave them to their fate, the robbers are ten against two. Perceval laughs him to scorn, and plunges into the fray, the Coward Knight meanwhile looking on, and protesting his entire indifference to the whole affair, which does not prevent two of the robbers from attacking him. He maintains this attitude till he is wounded, when he suddenly becomes infuriated, and turning on his adversaries slays them both. He then goes to the aid of Perceval, and between them they account for the ten robbers, while the footmen, who held the maidens, take flight. The knights ride with the rescued ladies to their castle, but on the way one of the footmen, hidden in a thicket, wounds Perceval severely with an arrow. He is detained two months at the castle, till the wound is healed, during which time the Coward Knight refuses to leave him. After an interval, devoted to the adventures of other knights, Manessier takes up the tale again where he left it. The two continue their journey together, and come to a castle where a Tourney is about to be held between King Baudemagus and the King of a Hundred Knights. They take part with the latter, Perceval unhorsing Gaheriet, his companion Mordret, and finally driving Baudemagus' men back to the castle. The following morning the two go on their way, and come to a Cross where Perceval says they must part company. He asks his companion's name, and the Coward Knight says he is Li Biaux Mauvais,

Icestui nom me fu donés  
Le jour ke je fu adoubés,

on which Perceval replies, Not so, he should rather be called Li Biaux Hardiz, from the proofs of valor he has given. He tells him his own name, and bidding him be at Arthur's court for Pentecost, they part company, and we do not meet the knight again.

Now, that these two accounts represent the same story there can be no doubt. The question is, are they dependent the one on the

other, or are they independent versions of the same original? Dr. Nitze, in his study on the *Perlesvaus*,<sup>1</sup> decided for the latter solution, and at the same time expressed his opinion that the version given by Manessier was superior to that of the prose romance. After a careful study of the texts I have come to the conclusion that, while Dr. Nitze was right in postulating the existence of an earlier form of the story, he is wrong in considering the two versions to be independent, and Manessier to be the superior; on the contrary I hold that there is a direct affiliation between the two, and that the version of Manessier is based upon, and distinctly inferior to, that of the *Perlesvaus*. In the first place, the description of the first appearance of the knight corresponds in both texts: he is disarmed, and carrying his armor in most unseemly fashion. In *P.* the knight himself is riding backward, in *M.* this is modified into carrying his arms behind him. It seems to me much more probable that such a feature would undergo modification rather than exaggeration at the hands of a later writer, especially if, as we shall find reason to suppose, the tale originally belonged to a very early stage of Arthurian tradition. We cannot dismiss the meeting with Gawain as an amplification of Manessier's account, as it contains a remarkable and significant allusion to what must have been the primitive *motif* of the tale, a point to which we will return later on, and one of which the poetical version has no trace. Obviously, from his description of the knight *M.* knew the "Gawain" episode, but his main interest being with Perceval, he has combined the two sections of the *P.* version in one. The critical adventure and turning point of the Coward Knight's career was, in any case, connected with Perceval, and it is with this that he is mainly concerned. The adventure of the rescue of the two maidens is the same in both texts, but in the *P.* it is more adequately motivated. The maidens are in the hands of one knight, who has a reasonable ground of complaint against them, a ground, moreover, which falls into line with the previous *données* of the romance; in *M.* they are the victims, why, we do not know, of ten knights, with a band of footmen. We may note that *M.* represents all the knights as robbers, in *P.* we have the solitary survivor of a robber-band; here, *M.* seems to me to be exag-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *The Old French Romance of Perlesvaus*, pp. 75-87.

gerating. Again, we are bound to ask, Why does the Coward Knight remain upon the scene? His natural and obvious course was to ride on, and leave his companion to get out of the fray as best he could, the odds against them being certainly heavy. In *P.* on the contrary, he has no choice; Perceval, bent on curing him of his cowardice, drives him before him, and forces him into the position of combatant; he cannot possibly evade the blows directed against him. In both cases it is the sight of his own blood which rouses him, and in *P.* he gives the reason very clearly: he is now convinced that the assailant desires his death. The slaying of one knight on this, the first occasion he has used his arms, is quite possible and natural; to kill four or five, as in *M.*, is an obvious exaggeration.

Again, the Tournament episode is very *banal*, and the fact that the change of name is given here, and not after what is really the turning point in the youth's career, is not a happy alteration. But what settles the point as to the secondary character of this version is the name given by *M.* to the hero of the tale, Li Biaux *Mauvais*. It should be Li Biaux *Coarz*; Li Biaux *Mauvais* is quite a different person.

Both in the *Wauchier* continuation of Chrétien, and in the Didot *Perceval*, we find the account of that hero's meeting with a knight, accompanied by a lady of such appalling ugliness that Perceval cannot restrain his amusement, to the great indignation of the knight, who promptly challenges him, and is, of course, overthrown and sent as prisoner to Arthur's court, where the appearance of his companion excites a considerable sensation. The knight gives his name to Perceval as Li Biaux *Mauvais*, but that hero, impressed by his devotion to the lady, and his valor, replies, "*En vostre nom a voir et si a mençoigne, car Biaux Mauvais n'estes vous mie mais Biens et Biaux.*"<sup>1</sup>

Manessier appears here to have confused two stories. It is true that Dr. Brugger holds the two names to be the same, and identifies them with *Beau Cûrs*, a name given in the *Parzival* to a brother of Gawain, whose identity is not specified, and *Beaumains*, a name given in Malory to Gareth, or Gaheriet, but here I am unable to agree with him. Apart from the fact that no son of King Lot is ever represented as lacking in courage, the title *Mauvais* is not necessarily equivalent

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Wauchier*, II, 25332 f.; *Modena Perceval*, pp. 44-49.



to that of *Coarz*; it may equally well mean quarrelsome or malicious. Nor does the knight to whom it is applied show any signs of cowardice; on the contrary, he is alert to challenge any, and every, comer who fails to recognize the charms of his lady. Certainly no youth desirous of avoiding occasion for strife would have chosen to journey in such compromising company. At the same time, while the title of Chevalier Hardiz, bestowed by Perceval upon the knight after his reformation, is parallel to the name of Chevalier Coarz, the insistence on the beauty of the knight and the form of the name given by *M.* would seem to indicate that the hero of the tale was originally the Biaux Coarz, in which case we might expect to find his name changed to that of Li Biaux Hardiz; but nowhere, so far as I am aware, do we meet with this particular title. What we do find, and that in close conjunction with Li Biaux Coarz, is the name of Li Laiz Hardiz. Are these two one and the same, and was the change of a handsome coward into an ugly hero the original theme of our story? Dr. Nitze in the study previously referred to suggests that it was so, and I entirely agree with him.

Let us examine the question more closely. The knight known by the name of Li Lez Hardiz appears more than once in Arthurian tradition, and seems to have held a somewhat conspicuous position. In the list of the Knights of the Round Table, given by Chrétien in *Erec*, we find that the fifth and sixth in rank are Li Biaux Coarz and Li Lez Hardiz, a juxtaposition which, while it would indicate that Chrétien held the two to be independent, is, in view of our tale, curiously significant.<sup>1</sup> The rank assigned to the knight, or knights, immediately after Gawain, Erec, Lancelot, and, curiously, Gorne-manz of Gohort, who, in the only poem in which he plays a definite rôle, the *Perceval*, is not a Knight of the Round Table at all, would imply an already recognized popularity. Another instance in which Li Laiz Hardiz plays a leading rôle is in the introductory episode of the *Chastel Orgueilleux* compilation. It will be remembered that Arthur, having launched a general accusation of treason against the knights of the Round Table, retires to his "loge" and fastens the door. The knights follow, indignantly demanding an explanation, and Gawain forces his way in. The Knights crowd after him, and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Erec*, vme. 1696-97.

Li Laiz Hardiz makes himself spokesman for them all. He is introduced on the scene in a remarkable passage:

A la table reonde avoit  
 Coustume que nul n'i seoit  
 Se il n'avoit plaie en la chiere;  
 S'en avoient en grant maniere  
 Les chieres mult plus esfraées,  
 Plus cremues et redoutées.  
 Li Lais Hardis s'est mis avant,  
 Sachiez que ja parlast atant.<sup>1</sup>

Now let us turn back to the commencement of the Coward Knight adventure, as given in *P.* Here, as noted above, we find a curious and significant passage. After Gawain's encounter with the emissary of Marin le Jaloux, the Coward Knight, explaining that he would not have accepted the challenge, goes on to say "*Il ne vient de gerre se mal non, ne je n'oi onques plaies ne bleceure, se aucuns rains ne la me fist, et je voi vostre viaire tot deplaié et navré en plusors leus. Si m'ait Diez, de tel hardiece n'ai je cure, et chascun jor prie Dieu que m'en desfende.*"<sup>2</sup> It seems to me that this passage, taken in connection with that quoted above, supplies the key to our story. The knight whose good looks are insisted upon (in *P.* Perceval remarks cowardice does not become so fair a knight, while *M.* emphasizes his beauty) shrinks from qualifying for an honor that would entail a loss of that beauty. It is disfigurement, rather than death, that he fears. There can be little doubt that we have here the working over of an old story, one belonging to an early period of Arthurian tradition, when the characteristics of that tradition were more primitive, and less civilized, than those of the cyclic version. Heroes whose claim to honor consists in their facial disfigurement recall the primitive savagery of Layamon's account of the founding of the Round Table, with its free use of knives, cutting off of noses, etc. The heroes of that period must have more resembled modern German students than the courtly knights of romance! That it was an old story is evidenced by the fact that neither *P.* nor *M.* gives the knight his proper name; he was undoubtedly li *Biaus*, not li *Chevaliers*, Coars. I very much doubt whether the conclusion as given in *P.* formed any part of the original

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *The Legend of Sir Perceval*, II, 202.

<sup>2</sup> *Perlesvaus*, Br. IV, title 6.

story; it was the sacrifice of his beauty, not of his life, which was demanded, but it throws a light upon the methods of the author of the romance, and his free and independent handling of his material. The knight was probably, in the first instance, connected with Gawain rather than with Perceval, and I am inclined to attribute the latter connection to the author of *P.*; he has made admirable use of his material, the whole scheme is well knit, the adventure which forms the turning point of the hero's life is ingeniously motivated, the rescued maidens are friends of Gawain and owe their danger directly to his action, thus connecting the two parts of the story, and, as remarked above, the circumstances of his death are in complete harmony with, and form a dramatic conclusion to, the previous adventures.

An interesting indication of the antiquity of the material dealt with is afforded by a passage of the prose *Lancelot*, where Ywain, passing the night in a Hermitage, is asked by his host whether the custom still maintains that no knight can sit at the Round Table unless he be wounded: it was so in the days of Uther Pendragon, and the Hermit proceeds to relate the tragic tale of a young knight who sacrificed his life in a mad attempt to qualify for the honor which had been refused him. Ywain replies that since Lancelot, Galehaut, and Hector were admitted as Knights of the Round Table without having thus qualified, the custom has been changed; now each newly made knight must vanquish at least one knight in the eight days following his election, or forfeit his seat.<sup>1</sup>

Here it seems to me we have most interesting evidence of the gradual evolution, and softening, of a primitive, and savage, theme. First, we have the condition of facial disfigurement as essential for admission to the highest honors of Arthur's court. This is modified to a more general qualification of wounds, the character of which is not specified. Finally, in the cyclic version, as represented by the prose *Lancelot* the last trace of the fierce primitive tradition has been swept away, and the would-be knight of the Round Table is only required to perform a feat of valor within a certain specified period of time. The evolutionary process is clearly to be traced.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Legend of Sir Lancelot*, p. 232. Some of the texts give the eight days preceding, not following, the election; in this case there would be no question of forfeiture.

What then is the result of our investigation? I would submit that the results are twofold, and in each case they confirm those obtained by a comparison with the *Vengeance Raguidel*. First, the author of the *Perlesvaus* was possessed of very considerable constructive ability, and made free and independent use of his material. Secondly, for that material he went back behind the romances we know, to that earlier stage of Arthurian tradition of which fragments have been preserved in the *Wauchier* continuation, and the English *Gawain* poems. Whatever may be the relative date of composition of the *Perlesvaus* and that of prose *Lancelot*, the themes dealt with by the author of the former romance belong demonstrably to a stage of Arthurian tradition anterior to the construction of the latter.

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## ACERCA DE LA FECHA Y FUENTES DE *EN LA VIDA TODO ES VERDAD Y TODO MENTIRA*

A reserva de dar a luz lo más pronto posible una edición que he preparado de *En la vida todo es verdad y todo mentira* de Don Pedro Calderón de la Barca basada en el autógrafo existente en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, ofrezco en esta nota datos que ampliaré más tarde.

FECHA. Al comenzar la jornada segunda dice Calderón: "El duque Federico que es papel nuevo desta jornada a de hacer Franca. Veçon, y si tubiere otra cosa que estudiar, Ysavel de Galvez."

Es claro que *En la vida* ha de haberse representado en una fecha en que ambas actrices se hallaban a la mano según se colige de las palabras de Calderón arriba citadas, pero los informes que hemos allegado<sup>1</sup> indican que la Gálvez estuvo en Madrid en 1658 y la Bezón en 1659, sin afirmar que aquélla viviese allí en 1659 ni ésta en 1658. Viene, sin embargo, a sacarnos de dudas el documento núm. 157 de la ya citada obra de Pérez Pastor:

Madrid, 17 Febrero, 1659.

En la villa de Madrid el dicho día diez y siete de Febrero año de mil seiscientos y cincuenta y nueve yo el dicho escribano requeri a Diego Osorio declare por que causa no ha echado ni representado comedia hoy lunes dicho día en el corral del Principe como tiene obligacion el qual dijo que por causa de estar estudiando y ensayando una comedia de Don Pedro Calderon que se intitula *En la vida todo es verdad y todo mentira*, y otra de Don Francisco Antonio Monteses intitulada *La perla de Ipomenes y Atalanta* y otra de Don Francisco Zapata intitulada *Todo es menos por servir* y nueve Sainetes y tres Loas, todo lo qual es menester para poder cumplir y ensayar y estudiar dichas fiestas que se han de hacer a Su Magestad domingo, lunes y martes de Carnestolendas, por lo qual no ha podido representar este dicho día aunque tiene comedias que representar. Y asimismo ayer domingo, que se contaron

<sup>1</sup> Apórtanos D. Casiano Pellicer, *Tratado histórico sobre el origen y progresos de la comedia y del histrionismo en España*, Madrid, 1804, parte II, p. 57; H. A. Rennert, *The Spanish Stage*, New York, 1909, pp. 434 y 435; Pérez Pastor, *Bulletin Hispanique*, XV (1903), pp. 433, 440, y 443; Pérez Pastor, *Documentos para la bibliografía de Calderón*, Madrid, 1905, pp. 261, 328.

quince del mes, sin embargo de que puso carteles para representar en el corral del Principe la comedia intitulada *Afectos de odio y amor*, de Don Pedro Calderon, no lo pudo conseguir por dichas ocupaciones.

Siguieron los ensayos de dichas tres comedias, de las cuales se hizo una el día 23, la del día 24 no se pudo representar por estar con jaqueca la Reina, y el día 25 se hicieron las dos restantes, una por la compañía de Diego Osorio y otra por la de Pedro de la Rosa.

Resulta, pues, en claro que *En la vida* se representó el día 23 o 25 de febrero o sea el domingo o martes de Carnestolendas del año 1659.

El documento núm. 168b nos da la lista de los cómicos que figuraban en la compañía de Diego Osorio:

“Obligacion de Diego Osorio, autor de comedias, de hacer uno de los dos Autos del Corpus de este año en precio de 950 ducados con esta compañía que presenta:

## MUJERES

Maria de Quiñones  
Jeronima de Olmedo  
Francisca de Bezon  
Mariana de Borja  
Micaela de Andrade

## HOMBRES

Alonso de Olmedo  
Juan Gonzales  
Miguel de Orozco  
Blas Polope  
Vicente de Olmedo  
Mateo de Godoy  
Jusepe Quevedo  
Gaspar Fernandez  
Marcos Garces, Capsicol  
Diego Osorio.

Madrid, 28 Marzo 1659.

Vicente de Olmedo, marido de la Bezón, y Jusepe Quevedo, cuyos nombres aparecen en la lista, son acaso los cómicos a quienes alude Calderón en la jornada tercera: *Salen dos soldados Josepe y Vicente*. Uno y otro fueron actores de poco renombre. De Olmedo nos cuenta Pellicer que “era más señalado en danzar, en hacer penachos y en jugar la negra, y viejo tan arriscado que siempre llevaba la espada y la daga en la cinta.”

Omito en esta nota los ingeniosos argumentos aducidos por Hartzenbusch<sup>1</sup> que en parte coinciden con los de Menéndez y Pelayo<sup>2</sup> en pro de la anterioridad de *En la vida* al *Heracius* de P. Corneille.

<sup>1</sup> B. A. E., XIV, pp. 662 y sigs.

<sup>2</sup> *Calderón y su teatro*, Madrid, 1910, pp. 250 y sigs.



FUENTES. De la fecha del autógrafo se desprende claramente que Corneille<sup>1</sup> no imitó ni copió de *En la vida*, comedia compuesta poco antes de ser representada en 1659, siendo su *Heraclius* de 1647, o acaso antes; y del cotejo esmerado de *La rueda de la fortuna* de Mira de Mescua con la tragedia francesa resultan varios puntos de contacto, a saber: la filiación falsa de Eraclio, la prolongación anti-histórica de la vida de la Emperatriz y de la de una de sus hijas, y el nombre de Leoncio.

Comparando en seguida las dos comedias españolas pueden columbrarse una que otra coincidencia verbal y varias ideas comunes, a saber: la mencionada filiación de Eraclio, la muerte de Focas a manos de éste, y sobre todo el pasaje de la primera jornada en que relata Focas su origen:

CALDERÓN

Leche de lobas infante  
me alimento allí en mi tierna  
hedad, y en mi edad adulta  
el veneno de sus yerbas.

MIRA DE MESCUA

Un pescador me saco;  
Y como a mí me crio  
Con palmas y verdes ovas  
Y leche de mansas lobas ...

Concedamos, pues, que Calderón pudo haber tenido presente la comedia famosa de Mira de Mescua, como pudo igualmente haber conocido *El hijo de los leones*, comedia de Lope en la que el personaje selvático Leonido guarda cierta semejanza ora con Focas, ora con Eraclio; y aun no estaría fuera de razón el suponer que tejiera *En la vida* con reminiscencias conscientes de piezas ajenas, pues sabido es que el genio de nuestro autor brillaba menos por su capacidad inventiva que por su don de arreglar y planear escenas, vaciando por, decirlo así, las ideas de otro en el molde calderoniano e imprimiéndoles el sesgo de su personalidad literaria.

Por otra parte, la obra de Mira de Mescua no era desconocida por el más distinguido contemporáneo de Corneille, Jean Rotrou, quien imitó su *Don Bernard de Cabrère* (1647) de *La adversa fortuna de don Bernardo de Cabrera*, y su *Belisario* (1642-44) de *El ejemplo mayor de la desdicha y gran Capitán Belisario*, y así cabe el presumir que conociera Corneille *La rueda de la fortuna*.

Mas, en cambio, ¿cómo explicar la peregrina semejanza entre los pasajes siguientes de Calderón y Corneille, sino por medio de

<sup>1</sup> Para la bibliografía de esta controversia que se remonta a 1724 consúltese H. Breymann, *Die Calderon Literatur*, München und Berlin, 1905, pp. 120-21.

una imitación directa, ya que estos no se hallan en Mira de Mescua ?:

FOCAS

Alça del suelo y tu voz  
me diga si es de Mauricio  
el hijo que rreserbo  
de mis yras tu lealtad,  
uno destes.

ASTOLFO

Si, señor;  
el uno de los dos es  
hijo de mi emperador,  
a quien, porque nunca diese  
en manos de tu furor  
crie en estos montes, sin que  
sepa quien es ni quien soy;  
porque el tenerle así tube  
a ynconveniente menor  
que el mirarle en tu poder  
ni de una jente que dio  
ovediencias a un tirano.

FOCAS

Pues mira cuan superior  
el hado a la dilijencia  
manda; qual es de los dos ?

ASTOLFO

Que es uno de ellos dire,  
pero qual es de ellos no.

FOCAS

Que ynporta que ya lo calles  
si es ynutil pretension  
para que no muera, pues,  
matando a entrambos estoy  
cierto de que muera en uno  
el que aborrezco, y que no  
turbara nunca el ynperio.

ERACLIO

A menos costa el temor  
podras asegurar.

FOCAS

Como ?

PHOCAS, à Léontine

Approche, malheureuse.

HÉRACLIUS, à Léontine

Avouez tout, Madame.

J'ai tout dit.

LÉONTINE, à Héraclius

Quoi, Seigneur ?

PHOCAS

Tu l'ignores, infâme!

Qui des deux est mon fils ?

LÉONTINE

Qui vous en fait douter ?

HÉRACLIUS, à Léontine

Le nom d'Héraclius que son fils veut porter:  
Il en croit ce billet et votre témoignage;  
Mais ne le laissez pas dans l'erreur davantage.

PHOCAS

N'attends pas les tourments, ne me déguise rien.  
M'as-tu livré ton fils ? as-tu changé le mien ?

LÉONTINE

Je t'ai livré mon fils, et j'en aime la gloire.  
Si je parle du reste, oseras-tu m'en croire ?  
Et qui t'assurera que pour Héraclius,  
Moi qui t'ai tant trompé, je ne te trompe plus ?

PHOCAS

N'importe, fais-nous voir quelle haute prudence  
En des temps si divers leur en fait confidence:  
A l'un depuis quatre ans, à l'autre d'aujourd'hui.

LÉONTINE

Le secret n'en est su ni de lui, ni de lui;  
Tu n'en sauras non plus les véritables causes:  
Devine, si tu peux, et choisis, si tu l'oses.  
L'un des deux est ton fils, l'autre est ton empereur.  
Tremble dans ton amour, tremble dans ta fureur.  
Je te veux toujours voir, quoi que ta rage fasse,  
Craindre ton ennemi dedans ta propre race,  
Toujours aimer ton fils dedans ton ennemi,  
Sans être ni tyran, ni père qu'à demi.  
Tandis qu'autour des deux tu perdras ton étude,

LEONIDO

Vengando en mí ese rencor;  
pues yo a precio de ser hijo  
de un supremo emperador  
dare contento la vida.

ERACLIO

Si en el dicta la ambición  
en mí la verdad.

FOCAS

Por que?

ERACLIO

Porque yo se lo que soy.

FOCAS

Tu lo sabes?

ERACLIO

Si.

ASTOLFO

Pues quien  
te lo a dicho?

ERACLIO

Mí valor.

FOCAS

Entrambos para morir  
competís por el blason  
de hijos de Mauricio?

LOS DOS

Si.

FOCAS

Di tu qual es de ellos.

ASTOLFO

Que es uno mi voz a dicho;  
qual es no dira mi amor.

FOCAS

Eso es querer, por salbar  
uno, que perezcan dos.  
Y pues entranbos conformes  
estan en morir, no soy  
tirano, pues que la muerte  
que ellos me piden les doy.  
Soldados, mueran entranbos.

Mon âme jouira de ton inquiétude;  
Je rirai de ta peine; ou si tu m'en punis,  
Tu perdras avec moi le secret de ton fils.

PHOCAS

Et si je le punis tous deux sans les connoître,  
L'un comme Héraclius, l'autre pour vouloir l'être?

LÉONTINE

Je m'en consoleraí quand je verrai Phocas  
Croire affermir son sceptre en se coupant le bras,  
Et de la même main son ordre tyrannique  
Venger Héraclius dessus son fils unique.

PHOCAS

Quelle reconnoissance, ingrate, tu me rends  
Des bienfaits répandus sur toi, sur tes parents,  
De t'avoir confié ce fils que tu me caches,  
D'avoir mis en tes mains ce coeur que tu m'arraches,  
D'avoir mis à tes pieds ma cour qui t'adoroit!  
Rends-moi mon fils, ingrate.

LÉONTINE

Il m'en désavoueroit;  
Et ce fils, quel qu'il soit, que tu ne peux con-  
noître,  
A le coeur assez bon pour ne vouloir pas l'être.  
Admire sa vertu qui trouble ton repos.  
C'est du fils d'un tyran que j'ai fait ce héros;  
Tant ce qu'il a reçu d'heureuse nourriture  
Dompte ce mauvais sang qu'il eut de la nature!  
C'est assez dignement répondre à tes bienfaits  
Que d'avoir dégagé ton fils de tes forfaits.  
Séduit par ton exemple et par sa complaisance,  
Il t'auroit ressemblé, s'il eût su sa naissance:  
Il seroit lâche, impie, inhumain comme toi,  
Et tu me dois ainsi plus que je ne te doi.

ASTOLFO

Tu lo pensaras mejor.

FOCAS

Por que ?

ASTOLFO

Porque no querras,  
ya que el uno te ofendio  
en vivir, te ofenda el otro  
en morir.

FOCAS

Pues por que no ?

ASTOLFO

Porque es el otro tu hijo,  
de cuya verdad te doy  
para testimonio esta  
lamina que a mi me dio  
con el y con la noticia  
de ser tuyo la afliccion  
de aquella villana, en quien  
fue tan parlero el dolor,  
que por no rreserbar nada,  
al hijo aun no rreserbo.  
Agora con el rresguardo  
que el uno en el otro hallo,  
saviendo que es tu hijo el uno  
Podras matar a los dos.

FOCAS

Que escucho y que miro!

CINTIA

Estraño  
suceso!

FOCAS

Quien, cielos, vio  
que quando de mi enemigo  
y mia buscando voy  
la sucesion que aflijia  
mi vaga ymajinacion  
tan equibocas enquentre  
un y otra sucesion  
que ynpida el golpe del odio  
el escudo del amor ?  
Mas tu diras uno y otro  
quien es ?

ASTOLFO

Eso no hare yo;  
tu hijo a de guardar al hijo  
de mi rrey y mi señor.

FOCAS

No te valdra tu silencio  
que la natural pasion  
con esperiencias dira  
qual es mi hijo y qual no;  
y entonces podre dar muerte  
al que no halle en mi favor.

ASTOLFO

No te creas de esperiencias  
de hijo a quien otro crio;  
que apartadas crianças tienen  
muy sin cariño el calor  
de los padres; y quiza,  
llebado de algun error,  
daras la muerte a tu hijo.

FOCAS

Con eso en obligacion  
de dartela a ti me pones  
si no declaras quien son.

ASTOLFO

Asi quedara el secreto  
en seguridad mayor;  
que los secretos un muerto  
es quien los guarda mejor.

FOCAS

Pues no te dare la muerte,  
caduco, loco, traydor,  
sino guardare tu vida  
en tan misera prision  
que lo prolijo en morir  
te saque del corazon  
a pedazos el secreto.

ERACLIO

No le ultraje tu furor.

LEONIDO

No tu saña le maltrate.

FOCAS

Pues que, amparaísle los dos?

LOS DOS

Si el nuestra vida a guardado,  
no es primera obligacion  
de todas guardar su vida ?

FOCAS

Luego a ninguno mudo  
la vanidad de que pueda  
ser hijo mio ?

ERACLIO

A mi no;  
porque mas quiero otra vez  
digo, morir al onor  
de ser legitimo hijo  
de un supremo enperador,  
que vivir de una villana  
hijo natural.

LEONIDO

Y yo  
que, aunque ser tu hijo tuviera  
a soberano blason,  
no me a de esceder a mi  
Eraclio en la presuncion  
de ser lo mas.

FOCAS

Y es lo mas  
Mauricio ?

LOS DOS

Si.

FOCAS

Y Focas ?

LOS DOS

No.

FOCAS

O venturoso Mauricio!  
O ynfeliz Focas! Quien vio  
que para rreynar no quiera  
ser hijo de mi valor  
uno, y que quieran del tuyo  
serlo para morir dos!  
Y pues de tanto secreto  
que ya pasa a ser baldon,  
solo eres dueño, bolviendo  
a mi primera yntencion,

PHOCAS

Hélas! je ne puis voir qui des deux est mon fils;  
Et je vois que tous deux ils sont mes ennemis.  
En ce piteux état quel conseil dois-je suivre ?  
J'ai craint un ennemi, mon bonheur me le livre;  
Je sais que de mes mains il ne se peut sauver,  
Je sais que je le vois, et ne puis le trouver.  
La nature tremblante, incertaine, étonnée,  
D'un nuage confus couvre sa destinée:  
L'assassin sous cette ombre échappe à ma rigueur,  
Et présent à mes yeux, il se cache en mon coeur.  
Martian! A ce nom aucun ne veut répondre,  
Et l'amour paternel ne sert qu'à me confondre.  
Trop d'un Héraclius en mes mains est remis;  
Je tiens mon ennemi, mais je n'ai plus de fils.  
Que veux-tu donc, nature, et que prétends-tu  
faire ?  
Si je n'ai plus de fils, puis-je encore être père ?  
De quoi parle à mon coeur ton murmure impar-  
fait ?  
Ne me dis rien du tout, ou parle tout à fait.  
Qui que ce soit des deux que mon sang ait fait  
naitre,  
Ou laisse-moi le perdre, ou fais-le moi connoître.  
O toi, qui que tu sois, enfant dénaturé,  
Et trop digne du sort que tu t'es procuré,  
Mon trône est-il pour toi plus honteux qu'un  
supplice ?  
O malheureux Phocas! ô trop heureux Maurice!  
Tu recouvres deux fils pour mourir après toi,  
Et je n'en puis trouver pour régner après moi!  
Qu'aux honneurs de ta mort je dois porter envie,  
Puisque mon propre fils les préfère à sa vie!

FOCAS

te haran hablar ambre y sed,  
desnudez, pena y dolor.  
Llebalde preso.

LOS DOS

Primero

restados en su favor  
nos veras.

FOCAS

Eso es querer  
que, abandonando el amor  
con que el uno busque, en  
ambos  
se vengue mi yndignacion.  
A todos tres los prended.

ERACLIO

Primero pedaços yo  
me dejare hacer.

LEONIDO

Primero

morireis todos.

FOCAS

Su error

los castigue. Que esperais?  
Si no se dan a prision,  
mueran.

Esta escena representa lo mejor de *En la vida*, y es sin duda superior a la correspondiente del *Héraclius*, la cual es a su vez la más bien construída de la enredada tragedia francesa. No sacó Calderón todo el partido posible de la concreta situación de incertidumbre en que deja al tirano en la primera jornada, sino que arrastrado por la fuerza de ese simbolismo, esa innata tendencia a la abstracción y a la universalidad tan de su genio, transforma gradualmente los que en un principio se destacan como caracteres, en figuras simbólicas o encarnaciones corpóreas de un pensamiento dominante. A este pensamiento, bien indicado por el título de la obra, débese el que Calderón haya desbarrado por completo en las dos últimas jornadas hasta el punto de hacer hartos penosa la lectura, y trabajoso el desentrañar en ciertos momentos los personajes reales de los fingidos, las escenas actuadas en el mundo tangible del espectador, de las



vistas a través de la mágica de Lisipo; en una palabra: *la mentira de la verdad* en la vida. Mientras que en Corneille nos fatiga la complicación de la intriga, y es fácil extraviarnos en el dédalo por donde conduce a sus personajes, en Calderón nos envuelve la nebulosidad producida por el vaho de su simbolismo apurado hasta el colmo del absurdo. El pensamiento filosófico-religioso de la caducidad de las glorias mundanales, del *sueño de la vida*, parece afirmarse más y más en el espíritu del fervoroso sacerdote que sólo al llamamiento de su rey ponía en las tablas esta comedia acaso la víspera del miércoles de ceniza, ensimismado ya en el grave *memento, homo, quia pulvis es, et in pulverem reverteris* con que da principio la Iglesia a la penitencia cuaresmal. Este pensamiento que se propuso el poeta sacar avanté, enerva el resorte dramático tan felizmente preparado en la primera jornada; y la forma operática que se vislumbra en las jornadas segunda y tercera hace degenerar la pieza en un espectáculo que preludia las comedias que más tarde fueron cantadas en su totalidad, la primera de las cuales fué *La púrpura de la rosa* también de Calderón, representada ante la corte en 1660 por Diego Osorio cuya compañía, según se apuntó arriba, hubo de representar *En la vida* el año anterior.<sup>1</sup>

Las fuentes de *En la vida* deben, pues, encontrarse, primero en la Historia a sabiendas torcida por el autor, quien no la ignoraba como malignamente han apuntado algunos, pues ya había tratado con arreglo a ella una parte del mismo asunto en *La exaltación de la cruz*; segundo, en Corneille para la escena que hemos señalado; tercero, en Mira de Mescua para un pasaje también ya indicado, y tal cual reminiscencia vaga en el diálogo; y cuarto, en Góngora para el cantar cuyos dos versos últimos ya había reproducido en *La vida es sueño*:

Ay como gime! ·  
Mas ay como suena  
el remo a que nos condena  
el niño amor!  
Clarín que rompe el albor  
no suena mejor.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> El documento núm. 163 de la obra citada de Pérez Pastor se titula: "Certificaciones de Matías de Santo sobre la asistencia de D. Pedro Calderón de la Barca a los ensayos de una comedia toda cantada." Ésta es sin duda, como lo ha dicho Rennert, *La púrpura de la rosa*; y Diego Osorio es el autor claramente mencionado en el documento.

<sup>2</sup> Véase P. Henríquez Ureña, *La versificación irregular en la poesía castellana*, Madrid, 1920, p. 239.

Ya en 1658 se había dejado sentir la corriente francesa en Juan Bautista Diamante quien "devolvió a España" el Cid de P. Corneille con el título de *El honrador de su padre*. Por otra parte las relaciones políticas entre los dos países se estrecharon cordialmente después de las últimas campañas (1657-59). Ambas naciones anhelaban la paz: Mazarino, acaso cediendo a la presión de Doña Ana, hermana de Felipe IV, a la vez que buscando la futura incorporación de España a la corona francesa; Felipe IV escuchando la voz de la prudencia al verse completamente abandonado por sus aliados. Así pues, iniciáronse negociaciones para el casamiento de María Teresa con Luis XIV que habían de cimentar el tratado de paz de los Pirineos cuyas bases fueron firmadas el 4 de junio de 1659.

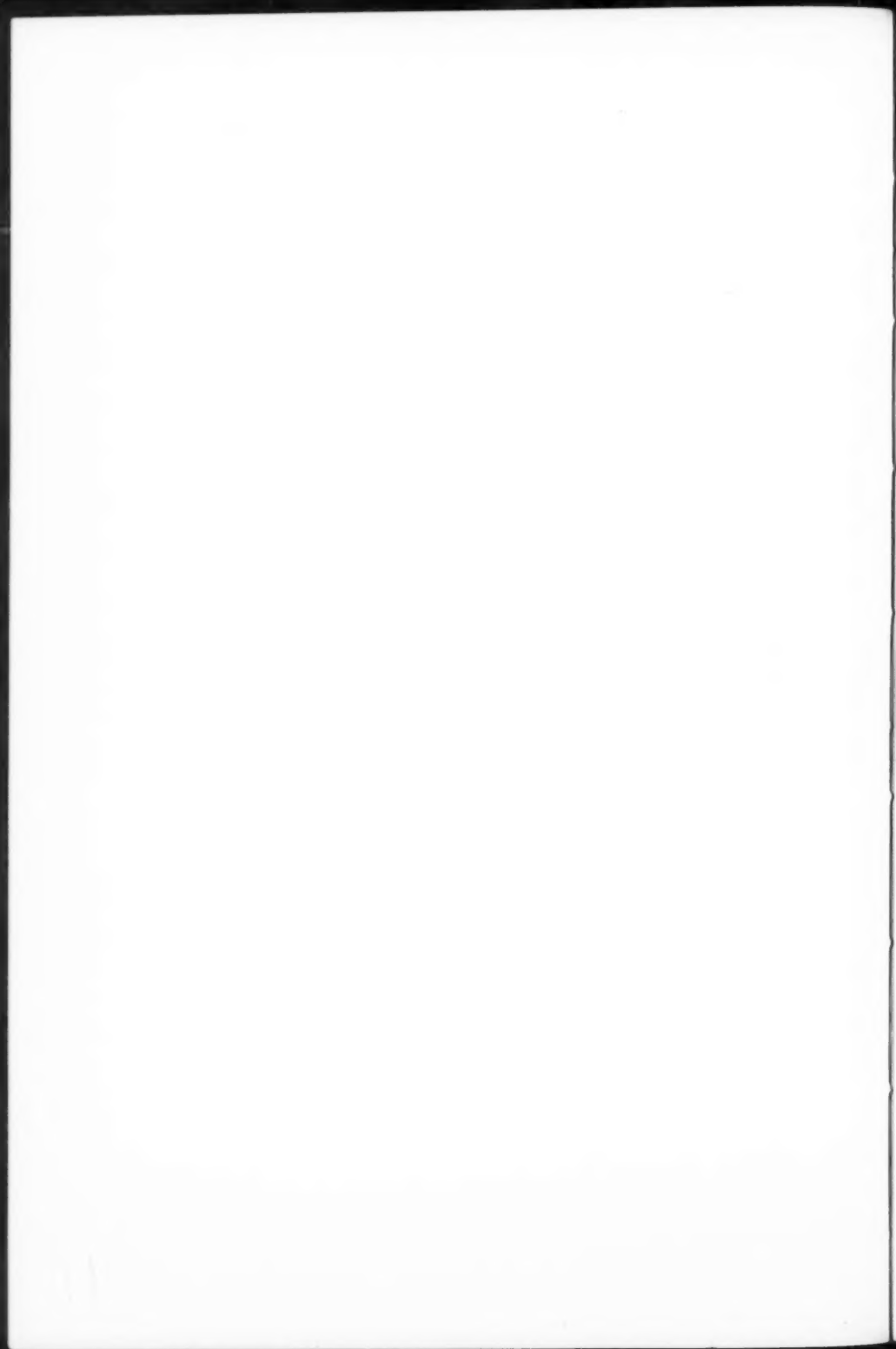
Calderón, favorito de Felipe IV, pudo oportunamente contribuir a esta cordialidad obsequiando a la corte con una obra—una fiesta—en que imitara un acto del gran Corneille, y en lo cual nada desmerece como ya hemos visto, y sí hubo de acrecentar su nombre ante la corte.

No está por demás el recordar que el entremés de *El labrador gentilhomme*, trasunto bastante fiel del *Bourgeois gentilhomme* de Molière, se representó con otra fiesta de Calderón, *Hado y divisa de Leonido y Marfisa*, en 1680, su última obra. Se ha objetado que dicho entremés no puede ser de Calderón; y como única prueba de su ignorancia se aduce que en el entremés de *La franchota* habla una jerigonza que más se parece al italiano que al francés.

Como quiera que esto sea, *El labrador gentilhomme*, cuya fecha exacta nos es desconocida, presenta otro caso interesante de imitación.

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## SOME MEDIEVAL ADVERTISEMENTS OF ROME

### I. THE "LIBRI INDULGENTIARUM"

Of the documents which informed medieval folk of the things to be seen at Rome, two classes have been critically studied and reprinted. These are the *Itineraries* of the fifth to the eighth centuries, which served as guides to the early pilgrims visiting shrines and tombs, and which have a value for the study of the topography of medieval Rome<sup>1</sup> and the *Mirabilia Romae*, which dealt chiefly with the remains of classical antiquity found in Rome.<sup>2</sup> A third class, sometimes called *libri indulgentiarum*, though it is frequently mentioned by writers on Roman topography, has not been studied or reprinted, as far as I have been able to learn, since the sixteenth century. The reasons for the neglect of these books are obviously that they have no topographical value and that they do not interest the student of classical antiquity. Yet they have importance for those interested in the medieval mind. They present a kind of information which, it is clear from the number of copies extant and from the continuous production of similar books to the present day, has been very popular since the early fourteenth century. De Rossi says that copies of these *libri indulgentiarum* abound in the libraries of all Europe,<sup>3</sup> a statement which is probably true but is hard to confirm definitely because their brevity makes them easy to omit from catalogues. In the British Museum, at any rate, I have been able to find nine manuscript versions, in Latin or a vernacular. Surely a kind of writing, even though it be in the nature of an advertisement, which appealed so extensively to the people of Western Europe is worth some attention.

The English poem, *The Stacyons of Rome*, whose preservation in six copies<sup>4</sup> attests its popularity, is in reality merely a versified *liber*

<sup>1</sup> On these documents, see Ethel R. Barker, *Rome of the Pilgrims and Martyrs* (London, 1913), pp. 93-126, and Bibliography pp. 327-29.

<sup>2</sup> See F. M. Nichols, *The Marvels of Rome*, London, 1889.

<sup>3</sup> *Roma sotterranea* (Rome, 1864), I, 162. The statement is repeated by Armellini in *Le chiese di Roma* (2d ed., 1891), p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Besides the prose form in the Porkington manuscript. See Carleton Brown's *Register of Middle English Religious Verse*, Vol. II. The title of the English poem is misleading, for it deals not with the stations of Rome, but with the relics and indulgences of the chief Roman churches. See Rossetti's "Notes" in *Political, Religious and Love Poems*, EETS, p. xx.

*indulgentiarum*. When he printed this document in *Political, Religious and Love Poems*, Furnivall wrote: "*The Stacyons of Rome* is simply (to me) a puff of the merits of the Papal City as a place for getting pardons and indulgences, in comparison with Santiago and Jerusalem."<sup>1</sup> He was quite right, of course, but he did not know that the *Stacyons* was one of a class of documents which evidently formed part of an organized propaganda to attract pilgrims to Rome. There are to be sure occasional similar tracts about the indulgences to be gained at Compostella, Jerusalem, or even Syon Monastery in England; but the rarity of these, in comparison with the multitude of manuscripts advertising Rome, indicates a systematic plan in the propagation of the latter. Nor did this production of "puffs" for Rome stop with the manuscript period: among the earliest printed books, we find *libri indulgentiarum*, with evidence that they ran quickly through many editions; we find at least two block books (an evidence of popularity, since, according to Mr. Pollard, block books were made only when a work was printed in large quantities);<sup>2</sup> and, in course of time, we find more and more elaborated forms until insensibly they become guidebooks of modern type.

To make a complete study of the indulgence books, one would need to visit all the important libraries of Europe and copy the countless versions to be found there. Such a study would undoubtedly enable one to classify the documents into groups and perhaps to determine their relative chronology; it might even enable one to determine the actual facts as to the years of indulgence granted at various shrines. My study—a mere sketch in comparison with what might be done—is based only on the manuscripts and printed books found in the British Museum. With such restricted material, it will be possible for me merely to give one text, describe several others, and use some of the details in illustration of the English *Stacyons of Rome*.

De Rossi says that the manuscripts of the *libri indulgentiarum* date chiefly from the fifteenth and late fourteenth centuries.<sup>3</sup> This statement is true of the manuscripts in the British Museum. In attempting to determine whether a particular text belongs to an earlier

<sup>1</sup> *Forewords*, p. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> See his *Fine Books* (London, 1912), pp. 21-22.

<sup>3</sup> *Roma sotterranea*, I, 162.

or a later type, one could use certain kinds of internal evidence. For example, Onuphrius Panvinus says that there were in earlier times only five principal churches in Rome, as opposed to the seven churches of the later Middle Age.<sup>1</sup> Hence, those which mention five principal churches are presumably from earlier forms than those mentioning seven. Similarly, the original arrangement of these books seems to have involved a start with St. John's Lateran because of the pre-eminence of that church. Later St. Peter's, because it was the cathedral, usurped the initial position. Finally, perhaps, a detailed study of the contents, the lists of relics, and years of indulgence would give criteria for establishing relative chronology.

The earlier printed editions afford a more simple and careful text than any manuscript which I have found, a text, moreover, which in large part agrees verbatim with the manuscript versions.<sup>2</sup> The text which I give has the advantage of being at once very brief and yet complete.

Indulgentie ecclesiarum principium  
alme Urbis Rome,

[S]anctus Silvester scribit in cronica sua *quod* Rome fuerunt mille quingenti et quinque ecclesie quarum maior pars est destructa. Et inter illas tantum sunt septem principales privilegiate maiori privilegio, gratia, dignitate et sanctitate *quam* alie. Prima est sacrosancta Lateranensis ecclesia que est caput totius orbis et urbis, deinde ecclesia Sancti Petri, ecclesia Sancti Pauli, ecclesia Sancte Marie Maioris, ecclesia Sancti Laurentii extra muros, ecclesia Sanctorum Martirum Fabiani et Sebastiani, ecclesia Sancte Crucis in Hierusalem. Prima ecclesia Lateranensis dedicata est a beato Silvestro papa in honorem Sancti Salvatoris et Sancti Iohannis baptiste et evangeliste, et sunt in eadem ecclesia omni die xlviii anni indulgentiarum et totidem quadragene et remissio tertie partis omnium peccatorum. Item papa Silvester et Gregorius qui eam consecraverunt dederunt indulgentias tantas *quod* eas solus deus possit numerare testante beato Bonifacio qui dixit: "si homines scirent indulgentias ecclesie Lateranensis, non opus esset quod homines irent per mare ad sanctum sepulchrum domini seu ad Sanctum Iacobum in Galicia."

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by X. Barbier de Montault, *Œuvres complètes*, VI, p. 8. By the middle of the fourteenth century, seven was the recognized number, cf. Adam of Usk's *Chronicle* (ed. by E. M. Thompson: London, 1876), p. 253.

<sup>2</sup> For example, Cotton Julius D VIII, f. 15b ff. agrees largely with this text. Of the printed books, the earliest according to the British Museum catalogue is the one numbered I A 17593, five leaves without title-page, pagination, or signatures, published at Rome, 1473 (?). Two other early editions are I A. 17621, Rome, 1475 (?), and C 9 a 22. I print the last named diplomatically, except that I expand abbreviations, punctuate, and capitalize in modern fashion.

Item dicit papa Bonifacius: "si quis ad sedem nostram Lateranensem causa devotionis, orationis aut peregrinationis pervenerit, ille absolvetur ab omnibus suis peccatis."<sup>1</sup> Item dicit beatus Bonifacius: "si quis ad dictam ecclesiam venerit in die Sancti Salvatoris ille absolvetur ab omnibus suis peccatis." Item in sacristia eiusdem ecclesie est altare Sancti Iohannis quod habuit in deserto; item ibi est archa federis veteris testamenti; item virga Moisie et Aaron. Et hec omnia portaverunt Titus et Vespasianus de Hierusalem cum quattuor columnis ereis que stant circa summum altare. Item supra summum altare sunt capita Sanctorum Petri et Pauli et quodocunque monstrantur tunc ibidem sunt tot indulgentie quot sunt ad Sanctum Petrum quando monstratur sudarium seu Veronica, que indulgentie ostensionis Veronice habentur in sequentibus foliis videlicet in secunda ecclesia principali. Item quando ista sacratissima ecclesia ab hereticis fuit accensa et combusta, de capite Pancracii emanavit sanguis tribus diebus et tribus noctibus, quod caput etiam ostenditur una cum ceteris reliquiis in die pasche peracto prandio. Quam ecclesiam postea renovavit et de fundamento reedificari fecit dei genitricis servus papa Nicolaus III filius beati Francisci, ut clare apparet in opere mosaico supra summum altare; et ut supra dictum est sunt tot indulgentie sicut quando monstratur Veronica ad Sanctum Petrum. Item supra altare sancti Marie Magdalene sunt hec reliquie: primo caput sancti Zacharie, caput sancti Pancracii, item una scapula<sup>2</sup> de Sancto Laurentio; item pannus in quem fuit involutus *Christus* in cruce; item pannus cum quo *Christus* tersit pedes discipulis suis; item circumcisio domini nostri Iesu *Christi*; item tunica cum qua *Sanctus* Iohannes suscitavit mortuos; item ciphus ex quo *Sanctus* Iohannes bibit venenum a Cesare Damitiano; item una pars de vero ligno crucis; et multe alie reliquie que ostenduntur in die pasche prandio peracto. Item in capella que vocatur sancta sanctorum in quam mulieres non intrant sub pena excommunicationis est vera et plena remissio omnium peccatorum, et in eadem capella est imago *Christi* in etate xii annorum. Et circa eandem capellam stant gradus super quibus dominus noster Iesus *Christus* cecidit usque ad effusionem sanguinis et bene signum videtur, qui enim gradus steterunt ante domum Pilati in Hierusalem. Et quicunque hos gradus ascenderit habet de quolibet gradu novem annos indulgentiarum et totidem quadragenas et remissionem tertie partis omnium peccatorum.

Secunda ecclesia principalis est ad sanctum Petrum in qua sunt omni die xlviii anni indulgentiarum et totidem quadragene et remissio tertie partis omnium peccatorum. Item in eadem ecclesia fuerunt centum et novem altaria que nunc pro maiori parte sunt destructa et pro quolibet conceduntur xlviii anni indulgentiarum. Et inter ipsa sunt excepta septem altaria principalia que maiori gratia sunt privilegiata aliis altaribus, et omnia ista septem altaria sunt circumdata ferreis cancellis penes<sup>3</sup> quas considerantur. Item quodocunque est festum Sancti Petri vel festum sanctorum predictorum

<sup>1</sup> P. 2.<sup>2</sup> P. 3.<sup>3</sup> P. 4.

altarium vel festum natiuitatis domini vel festum pasche *et* festum omnium sanctorum vel aliis festis duplicibus duplicantur omnes indulgentie. Item in festo annunciationis beate Marie virginis sunt ibi mille anni indulgentiarum. Item a predicto festo usque ad kalendas Augusti sunt ibi xii anni indulgentiarum et totidem quadragene et remissio tertie partis omnium peccatorum. Item quicumque ascendit gradus sancti Petri devote huic conceduntur pro quolibet gradu septem anni indulgentiarum date a papa Alexandro. Item medietas corporum Petri et Pauli requiescit ad sanctum Petrum, reliqua vero medietas ad sanctum Paulum. Item in dicta Basilica requiescunt corpora Sanctorum Simonis et Iude. Item corpus beate Petronelle virginis. Item caput Sancti Andree apostoli, caput Sebastiani martiris, caput Sancti Luce evangeliste. Item Veronica monstratur in dicta ecclesia in ultima septimana quadragesime et in festo ascensionis domini et in dominica proxima post festum Sancti Anthonii, et tunc Romani aduenientes habent trium milium annorum indulgentias. Sed isti aduenientes de prope Romam habent sex milium annorum. Sed venientes per montanea de longinquo habent duodecim milium annorum indulgentias et totidem quadragenas, et similiter remissionem tertie partis omnium suorum peccatorum.<sup>1</sup>

Tertia ecclesia principalis est ad Sanctum Paulum in qua sunt omni die quadraginta et octo anni indulgentiarum et totidem quadragene *et* remissio tertie partis omnium peccatorum. Item in conversione Sancti Pauli sunt ibi centum anni indulgentiarum et totidem quadragene. Item in festo sanctorum innocentium quorum multa corpora ibidem requiescunt sunt quadraginta *et* octo anni indulgentiarum et totidem quadragene. Item in dedicatione ecclesie que est in octava Sancti Martini sunt mille anni indulgentiarum et totidem quadragene et remissio tertie partis omnium peccatorum. Item si quis ad dictam ecclesiam omnibus diebus dominicis ierit habebit tot indulgentias ac si iret ad sepulchrum domini in Hierusalem aut ad Santum Iacobum in Galicia. Item in eadem ecclesia est brachium Sancte Anne matris Marie, item una cathena cum qua sanctus Paulus cathenatus fuit.

Quarta ecclesia principalis est ad Sanctam Mariam Maiorem in qua sunt omni die quadraginta et octo anni indulgentiarum et totidem quadragene et similiter remissio tertie partis omnium peccatorum. Item hec sunt reliquie ecclesie predictae: Primo corpus beati Mathie apostoli, item corpus beati Hieronymi, item brachium beati Thome Cantuariensis archiepiscopi. Item nona die Maii est ibi remissio omnium peccatorum data a domino Pio Papa Secundo. Item in omnibus festiuitatibus beate Marie virginis sunt ibi mille anni indulgentiarum.<sup>2</sup> Item a festo assumptionis beate Marie virginis usque ad eius natiuitatem sunt ibi duodecim milia anni indulgentiarum.

<sup>1</sup> P. 5.<sup>2</sup> P. 6.



Quinta ecclesia principalis est ad Sanctum Laurentium extra muros in qua sunt omni die *xlvi* anni *indulgentiarum* et totidem *quadragene* et remissio *tertie partis omnium peccatorum*. Item ibidem est lapis super quo beatus Laurentius positus fuit post *quam* assatus est et mortuus erat. Item in festis Sanctorum Stephani et Laurentii, quorum corpora in eadem requiescunt ecclesia, sunt centum anni *indulgentiarum* et totidem *quadragene et remissio* *tertie partis omnium peccatorum*. Item si quis intraverit dictam ecclesiam per annum omni quarta feria liberat unam animam a purgatorio.

Sexta ecclesia principalis est ad Sanctum Sebastianum in qua sunt omni die *xlvi* anni *indulgentiarum* et totidem *quadragene* et remissio *tertie partis omnium peccatorum*. Item in eadem ecclesia sunt omni die mille anni *indulgentiarum* dati a domino Papa Pelagio. Item in dicta ecclesia sunt tante indulgentie quante sunt in ecclesiis sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli quia corpora eorum iacuerunt longo tempore abscondita in eadem ecclesia in fonte. Item Papa Silvester, Gregorius, Honorius, Pelagius, Nicolaus et Iohannes quilibet ipsorum concessit si(n)gillatim mille annos *indulgentiarum* tempore anni visitantibus dictam ecclesiam, absque peccatis mortalibus causa devotionis aut peregrinationis.

Item in dicta ecclesia requiescunt *xviii* summi<sup>1</sup> pontifices martires dans unus quisque suam indulgentiam; et multe alie indulgentie sunt in dicta ecclesia que numerari non possunt propter innumerabilia corpora sanctorum atque martirum ibidem requiescentium. Item in cimiterio beati Calisti est vera et plenaria remissio omnium peccatorum. Item in eadem ecclesia quolibet die dominico mensis Maii est remissio omnium peccatorum.

Septima ecclesia principalis est ad Sanctam Crucem in qua sunt omni die *xlvi* anni *indulgentiarum et totidem quadragene et remissio* *tertie partis omnium peccatorum*. Item in summo altari requiescunt Anastasius et Cesarius. Item eandem ecclesiam edificavit beata Constantia filia Constantini magni imperatoris in honorem sancte crucis ad preces Sancte Helene. Et Papa Silvester consecravat eam, et ibi omni die dominico fuit ccc anni *indulgentiarum et totidem quadragene et remissio* *tertie partis omnium peccatorum*. Item hec sunt reliquie ecclesie predictae: Primo duo cippi, unus plenus sanguine Hiesu Christi, alter vero plenus lacte beate Marie virginis.

Item spongia qua Iudei porrexerunt Christo fel et acetum in cruce, item lignum sancte crucis, item novem spine de corona Christi, item unus clavus cum quo fuit Christus affixus in cruce.

Item de ligno crucis latronis pendens ad dextram qui conversus fuit ad Christum. Item in capella que vocatur Hierusalem ubi mulieres non intrant est plenaria remissio omnium peccatorum.<sup>2</sup>

Sequuntur alie principales ecclesie: prima est ecclesia Marie in Ara Celi, in qua sunt omni die mille anni *indulgentiarum et totidem quadragene et remissio* *tertie partis omnium peccatorum*. Item in assumptione beate

<sup>1</sup> P. 7.<sup>2</sup> P. 8.

*Marie virginis sunt ibi vi milia annorum indulgentiarum. Item in die annuntiationis beate Marie virginis est plenaria remissio omnium peccatorum. Item ibi est imago beate Marie virginis depicta ab Luca evangelista. Item ibi sunt vestigia pedum sancti angeli. Item in ecclesia Sancti Silvestri est caput beati Iohannis baptiste, et quando illud monstratur sunt ibi cccc anni indulgentiarum et totidem quadragene et remissio tertie partis omnium peccatorum. Item in ecclesia Sancte Braxedis est tertia pars columne in quo Christus fuit flagellatus et in medio ecclesie sunt ccc corpora sanctorum martirum et sunt ccc anni indulgentiarum et totidem quadragene et remissio tertie partis omnium peccatorum. Item in capella beate Marie libera nos a penis inferni sunt omni die xii milia annorum indulgentiarum et totidem quadragene et remissio tertie partis omnium peccatorum.*

Sciendum tamen est quod Rome requiescunt octo corpora sanctorum apostolorum: Sanctorum Petri, Pauli, Simonis et Iude, Philippi, Iacobi, Bartholomei, et Mathie. Item in ecclesia Sancti Iohannis ante portam latinam ubi sanctus Iohannes est coctus in oleo et ibidem potest liberari una anima de purgatorio.

Item in ecclesia Sancte Marie Nove sunt omni die cc anni indulgentiarum et remissio tertie partis omnium peccatorum. Item ibi est etiam imago beate Marie virginis per Sanctum Lucam depicta.

Item in ecclesia beati Iacobi in porticu est lapis supra quem circumcisis est Ihesus Christus in templo Salomonis.

[Finis indulgentiarum]

The texts which are closely related to the foregoing often agree in phrasing for a sentence or more at a time, but usually expand the material by the addition of many details. As examples of the textual similarity of different versions, compare this beginning of the tract in Cotton D VIII (f. 15b) with the preceding:

Sanctus Silvester dicit in cronica sua quod in Roma olim fuerunt mille quingente quinque ecclesie. Inter quas maior pars est destructa. Tamen inter prefatas ecclesias sunt septem privilegiate gratia et sanctitate que dicuntur esse regales que a summis pontificibus et imperatoribus sunt constructe. Inter quas prima et principalior est ecclesia Sancti Iohannis latranensis totius orbis et urbis. Et notum quod in dicta quotidie sunt xlviij mille anni indulgentie et tot quadragene et tercie partis omnium peccatorum remissio. Item papa Gregorius et papa Silvester qui eandem ecclesiam consecraverunt concesserunt ibi tantas indulgentias quae numerari non possunt nisi a summo deo solo, testante papa Bonifacio qui dicit quod indulgentie sancti Iohannis latranensis numerari non possunt et ego confirmo. Item dicit quod si homines scirent indulgentias sancti Iohannis latranensis multa mala committerent. Et tanta indulgentia est ibi quod non oportet aliquem qui sine peccato mortali est peregrinationem facere ad sanctum sepulcrum ultra mare.

Again, in Harley 2321 (f. 104), following a short *mirabilia* and a list of the Stations of Rome, there is a text of the *liber indulgentiarum* which begins abruptly with the statement that the church of St. John was dedicated by St. Silvester—and then follows:

*Item papa silvester et papa gregorius qui eandem ecclesiam consecraverunt dederunt ei tot indulgencias quae nemo numerare potest nisi solus deus testante beato Bonifacio papa qui dicit: Si homines scirent indulgencias sancti Iohannis in laterano quod tot indulgencie essent ibi non transierent ad sanctum sepulcrum ultra mare in ierusalem.*

Even in texts which are planned on an entirely different scheme, there are agreements in phrasing, which go back to a simpler form of the tract or perhaps rest on actual grants. For example, in Titus A XIX, which is in arrangement quite different from the preceding, a sentence practically identical with the last quoted occurs.

*Item bonifacius dixit indulgencias dicte ecclesie non posse numerari. Item idem bonifacius dixit. Ego omnes indulgencias ipsas confirmo et si scirent homines indulgencias ecclesie lateranensis dicerent quod tanta est indulgentia quod non est necesse ire ad sepulcrum domini in terra sancta.*<sup>1</sup>

Such similarities of phrasing and idea could be illustrated indefinitely, and they will be exemplified indirectly in the texts discussed below.

Texts which are longer than the early printed one contain more details in their account of the principal churches and add a statement of the relics and indulgences of many minor churches. Thus when Cotton Julius D VIII states the indulgence at St. John's for Sanctus Salvator's day, it adds: "salvatoris qui visibiliter apparuit omni populo . . . et illa dies nominatur dies salvatoris et est ix dies novembri." . . . After treating of the seven main churches, this tract gives details as to the relics and indulgences of St. Mary Rotunda, St. Peter ad Vincula, St. Maria trans Tiberim, St. Maria Minerva, St. Maria de Populo, SS. Vitus and Modestus, St. Martin, SS. Cosmo and Damian, etc. (some fifty odd).

<sup>1</sup> So also Add. 32, 321 f. 22a and ff agrees with these texts in phrasing but is arranged differently.

In addition to the Latin texts, there are one in English, one in German, and one in French.<sup>1</sup> Of the English and German versions here are specimens:

In the cyte of Room ben iii<sup>c</sup> lxvi parysch churchis Off the which vii ben previlegid above all other *and* thaye be of more pardon *and* holynesse amonge which the pryncypalle church is of seinte peter the apostle that is bylded in the same place where he was crucified there to ben xxx steppis vppe and as ofte as anye person goyth vp the steppis devoutlye and is oute of dedlye synne is graunte by pope Alysander in relesyng of penaunce inioyned that is not done vii yere of pardon and as moche in þe goyng downe of the said steppis and in the same church ben jcx auters and when the feest is there is xviii yere of pardon at the lefte auter and þer ben vii previlegid that have more pardon at eche of the auters that is to saye The auter of þe Sudary of Cryste the auter of our ladye the auter of seint Andres þe apostle the auter of seint gregory by his sepular the auter of seint leon pope where he hath grauntid to alle that visite the autere with devoute prayers vii yere of pardon and seint Sylvester hath grauntid to alle that praye devoutely at the auter of seint peter xxviii yeres and as many lentis of penauncis inioyned and relese of the thyrd part of alle synnes and pope gregory hath grauntid to alle that devoutely cometh and praye mekely at the highe auter of seint peter pardon of alle synnes that be forgotyn pardon of brekyng of vowys and pardon of the leyng on handis of fader and moder The pardon þer is of xlviii yere and as manye lentis and from the accencoun of oure lorde ihesu to the kalendis of august is every day xiiii mille yere of pardon and every holy thursdaye i mille yere of pardon etc. . . . and in the church of seint johan latran is every daye xlvii yere of pardon and as many lentis and þe thirde parte of alle synnes foryevyne *and* seynte gregory and seint Sylvester popis that halowid þat church graunted þer so moche indulgence that it may not be noumbrid of none man but all one of almyghty god as pope Boniface sayeth that the indulgence of the church of seint latran maye not be nombryd but only of almyghty god and he sayeth if men knewe the indulgence þat be grauntid þer thaye wolde do moche wylle (euylle?)<sup>2</sup>.

The German text is entitled *Vonn dem applas zu Rom*:

Der heylig babst zu Rom Sanndt Silvester sprucht Das zu Rom sint sieben haubt kirchen Die erst is sandt peters Kirch wer die vier und zwantzig trippen vor sandt peters Kirchen auff oder ab get myt andacht der selb mensch hat siebun iar aplas von dem heyligen babst allexandro yn der selben kirche seint hundert and drey altar da hat yglicher altar xxviii iar applas vonn den selben altaran seint sieben haupt altar auss gesundert myt groser

<sup>1</sup> The last mentioned, Add. 25, 105 f. 74, is in such a bad shape that it would need a better French scholar than I am to disentangle it.

<sup>2</sup> Add. 35, 298 f. 65-66b.

gnaden und yglicher hat vii jar mer aplas den der annder eyner . . . . Die drit hauptkirch ist sandt<sup>1</sup> zu Johans da ist vergebung aller sund zu welcher zeyt der mensch darein kumpt so wirt ym die gnad die da gegeben ist von dem heyligen bebsten Silvester vnd gregorio die die kirchen geweiht habun die haben so vil gnaden dar geben dass es nymant volun zelen mag wan got allein das bewert der heylig babst bonifacius vnd spricht Wusten die leut die gross gnad die zu sant iohannis ist sie bedorfften nicht farun genn Iherusalem vber mere.<sup>2</sup>

All of the texts thus far cited—and indeed nearly all of the versions I have found—agree in their method of organization: they state the five or seven principal churches, itemize the relics and indulgences of each in order, and then add a few notes about other churches. The English *Stacyons of Rome* is organized in an entirely different way: it says nothing about five or seven especially privileged churches, but instead, starting with St. Peter's, discusses the churches in an order determined largely by topography and by the old pilgrimage route. It is curious to see how exactly its arrangement agrees with a statement of Barbier de Montault, based on Onuphrius Panvinus:

Les personnes pieuses avaient coutume de visiter d'abord l'église de Saint-Pierre, puis celle de Saint-Paul. Mais devant aller de Saint-Paul à Saint-Jean, il leur parut qu'il ne fallait pas oublier l'église de Saint-Sébastien, le cimetière de Calixte et les Catacombes.<sup>3</sup>

He gives the present order of pilgrimage (and that of Panvinus) as: Peter's, Paul's, John's, Santa Croce's, Laurence's, Maria Maggiore.<sup>4</sup> This is precisely the order of the *Stacyons of Rome*. I have found but one Latin text which is arranged in this manner; it is in Titus A XIX, f. 11b, ff. This one agrees very exactly with the *Stacyons*; it is even of value in clearing up some uncertainties in the English poem. As it corresponds precisely with the *Stacyons* in its arrangement, if it agrees with one version of the latter in having a given item, probably the lack of that item in the other version is due to omission. Thus it agrees with the Cotton-Lambeth version in having an account of the church of St. John at the Latin Gate. Hence it is probable that an

<sup>1</sup> The word is marked for transposition presumably with *su*.

<sup>2</sup> Arundel 6 f., 50a ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Œuvres Complètes*, VI, 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 14 ff. See also A. de Waal, *Der Rompilger* (1911), pp. 81 ff. The latter gives the same order for the visit and says that the custom goes back to the seventh century.

account of that church has fallen out of the copy in the Vernon manuscript. Similarly it agrees with Vernon in having a statement about the church of St. Anthony immediately before Maria Maggiore, where Cotton-Lambeth has merely some remarks about St. Anthony. It shows conclusively that the last church in Cotton should be St. Vivian's, not St. Julian's. It confirms the supposition that the remarks about the day of St. Peter ad Vincula just before the account of the church of the Holy Apostles, ought to be part of an account of the church of St. Peter ad Vincula. Likewise it agrees with Vernon, after the account of St. Praxed's, in discussing the church of St. Martin (where Cotton-Lambeth mentions the saint but not the church). Close agreement among the three versions, however, exists only as far as the account of the church of the Holy Apostles. After that, the Latin version contains many more items than either of the English forms. The Latin version is not however the source of the *Stacyons*, for it does not agree in details of relics and indulgences. The main features of the principal churches, such as the steps at St. Peter's and many of the relics at St. John's Lateran, agree; but in smaller details the discrepancies are many. Probably in considerable part these discrepancies can be accounted for as the result of scribal error. Thus the varying statements as to the number of steps before St. Peter's (Vernon: xxvii; Cotton: xxiii; Lambeth: xviii; Titus: xvii) are probably results of misreading xxvii.

Yet the agreements between the Latin text of Titus A XIX and the *Stacyons* are very close, the first notable exception being that the Latin gives seven thousand years instead of fourteen thousand as the indulgence at St. Peter's on the anniversary of its consecration. There is, however, no mention of the chapel in which St. Peter first said mass (ll. 37-44 in Cotton, not in Vernon). In the Latin, distances between churches are never given. Statements of the indulgences at St. Paul's agree except that the Latin gives forty years instead of four thousand for Childermas Day. The statements about St. Anastasius' are quite different in the Latin and in the poem, except that ll. 105-8 (Vernon) are covered by statements in the Latin. Titus states that the stone on which St. Paul was decapitated stood before the church of Scala Celi. The accounts of the churches of Scala Celi and Mary Annunciata agree—as do those of St. Sebastian's

(though Fabian is not named in the Latin, forty-eight years of indulgence, instead of forty, are indicated, and the Latin has no parallel to lines 169-80 of Vernon). In the account of the catacombs, forty-six popes are given in the Latin instead of forty-four; otherwise the accounts agree. To the church of Domine Quo Vadis, the Latin text ascribes two thousand years of indulgence but says nothing about remission of sins. The Latin tells of the release of a soul from purgatory at St. John's at the Latin Gate but mentions no indulgence. Lines 220-24 of Vernon are paralleled in the Latin; but the latter assigns ten years and on feast-days three thousand one hundred years, instead of the fourteen thousand of Vernon. It is curious that following this come general statements about the value of participation in the stations of Rome, in the Latin as in the English. The accounts of St. John's Lateran in the Latin and English agree in general, but not in all details of the relics. The accounts of Santa Croce agree quite exactly, the Latin as usual giving more details than the English. Similarly, the statements in the *Stacyons* about St. Lawrence's could be derived from the Latin text. In the latter, however, the next item reads merely: "In ecclesia sanctorum Simplicij faustini et beatrix 5000 anni." Hence, the details of the English must have been derived from another source. Probably I have given enough information to show the relation of the English poem to the text of Titus A XIX: the former could not have been derived directly from the latter but was doubtless based on a version closely related to that in Titus A XIX and like the latter probably written in Latin.

Such tracts as the Latin text just discussed and the English *Stacyons of Rome* are not only advertisements of the indulgences to be gained at Rome but guidebooks of an elementary sort. They were in the last respect far in advance of their time, however, for the older type of *liber indulgentiarum* continued standard even after the idea of guidebooks with planned "days" was conceived.

Of the earliest printed books, I have already given an example. The British Museum contains copies of nine different editions before 1500,<sup>1</sup> and a facsimile of a tenth. Two of these are blockbooks in German.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The catalogue numbers are I.A. 17593, I.A. 17621, I.A. 18727, I.A. 18932, I.A. 18584, I.B. 37565, C. 9. a. 22, I.A. 18501, I.A. 28.

<sup>2</sup> I.A. 28. 10135. aaa. 32.



Of early sixteenth-century editions, I count thirteen.<sup>1</sup> In 1565, G. Franzini published his Italian guidebook: *Le cose maravigliose de l'alma città di Roma* (Venice). This was frequently reprinted (as late as the eighteenth century), and was published in Latin, French, and Spanish translations. After a brief account of the founding of Rome and its Christianizing, Franzini's book begins (on folio 4b of the first edition) with an account of the seven principal churches, starting with St. John's Lateran. Franzini repeats many sentences found in the older printed books and manuscripts, e.g. (concerning St. John's Lateran): "Vi sono ancora infinite indulgentie, le qual chi le sapesse particolarmente non sarebbe bisogno andare al santo sepolcro di Cristo, o a San Giacomo di Galitia." After discussing the seven churches, Franzini takes up others (ff. 11b-28a). Then follows a full list of stations and another of special indulgences. A guide to Rome, arranged for three days, and a list of popes, emperors, and other monarchs conclude Franzini's work.

In 1600, appeared M. Attilii Serrani: *De Septem Vrbis Romae ecclesiis vna cum earum Reliquiis, Stationibus & Indulgentiis*. This in its arrangement is more like the English *Stacyons* than Franzini's work, for it starts with St. Peter's and then proceeds to St. Paul's, Anastasius', Maria Annunciata's, Sebastian's, Quo Vadis', St. John's Lateran, Santa Croce's, St. Lawrence's, and Maria Maggiore's.

Meanwhile, books of a more personal kind, but appealing to the same interest, began to appear. Of these, the most elaborate is *Ye Solace of Pilgrimes*, which seems to have been written by John Capgrave about 1450.<sup>2</sup> This gives, first, a general survey of Rome, based on the *Mirabilia*, and then an account of the main churches, their relics and indulgences. Capgrave joins a traveler's interest and information with a compiler's knowledge and makes a readable book. At about the same time, Niklaus Muffel, of Nürnberg, wrote an account of his visit to Rome,<sup>3</sup> and Giovanni Rucellai, a Florentine, wrote about what he saw at the Jubilee in 1450.<sup>4</sup> Later, Ritter A. von Harff wrote his *Pilgerfahrt in den Jahren 1496-99*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> My count is based on the catalogue used in the reading-room of the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by C. A. Mills, Oxford, 1911.

<sup>3</sup> Published in *Litterarischer Verein*, CXXVIII (Stuttgart, 1875-76).

<sup>4</sup> *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, IV (1881), fasc. IV, 563 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cöln, 1860.



The multiplication and continuous production of these accounts of the relics and indulgences of Rome indicate that they appealed to a very large audience. From the fourteenth century to the present day, they have been produced constantly. Of the more recent forms, I need hardly write. They have utilized the devices of the modern guidebook, retaining, however, the old type of information as to relics and indulgences not to be found in the Murrays and Baedekers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Such a book as A. de Waal's *Der Rompilger*, in one of its late editions, is really a splendid and interesting work.

## II. THE JOURNEY TO ROME

In the manuscripts which contain *libri indulgentiarum*, there are frequently other texts of associated interest, such as lists of the stations at Rome, itineraries of the routes from England to Rome, and lists of the indulgences to be gained at other pilgrimage places. Thus in Harley 2321, we find a short *mirabilia*, a list of the stations at Rome, a detailed book of indulgences at Rome, and then an itinerary from England to Rome. This gives the number of leagues or miles between each city and the next. This itinerary (with omission of some minor towns and others which I have not been able to identify) runs as follows: Calais, Gravelines, Dunkirk, Bruges, Ghent, Dendermonde, Malines, Diest,<sup>1</sup> Hasselt, Bilsen, Maastricht, Aix la Chapelle, Cologne, Bacharach, Bingen, Spires, Bruchsal, Esslingen (?), Ulm, Memmingen, Kempten, Meran, S. Michele, Trient, Verona, Ferrara, Bologna, Firenzuola, Florence, Siena, Radicofani, Acquapendente, Bolsena, Viterbo, Rome.

This is followed by a reverse route headed "Regrediendo de Roma," which exactly reverses the preceding route but stops at Bologna.

Immediately following this fragment is another "Iter ab Anglia." This differs from the preceding principally in that it proceeds through Switzerland. The itinerary is in places expanded with brief comments on the cities en route. In outline it is as follows: Dover, Calais, Gravelines, Dunkirk, Bruges, Ghent, Dendermonde, Malines, Diest, Bilsen, Maastricht, Aix la Chapelle (in the chief church is a shirt of

<sup>1</sup> An alternative route—Bruges, Antwerp, Lierre, Diest—is given.

the blessed virgin), Cologne (here are relics of the magi, the eleven thousand virgins, and other saints), Bonn, Rheinbach,<sup>1</sup> Andernach, Coblenz, Bingen, Worms, Spires, Lauterberg, Hagenau, Strassburg, Basel, Luzern, "hospitale" (not named), Chapel of St. Gotthard, Bellinzona, Lugano, Como, Milan, Cremona, Bologna, Firenzuola, Florence, Siena, Radicofani, Acquapendente, Bolsena, Viterbo, Rome.

The Italian part of these itineraries is quite different from that of the routes studied by Bedier in his *Les légendes épiques*.<sup>2</sup> Nor are these routes similar to the first given in *Informacion for Pylgrymes unto The Holy Londe*: but they resemble the "duche waye" given later.<sup>3</sup>

Following the last-mentioned itinerary, come a series of instructions to pilgrims as to paying of tribute and complying with the laws affecting travelers in various places, as to the money needed, as to exchange, and the various kinds of money used in different cities en route.

### III. INDULGENCES AT OTHER PILGRIMAGE PLACES

Much rarer than the *libri indulgentiarum Romae* are tracts which itemize the indulgences of other pilgrimage places. The British Museum, however, contains copies of such lists for Jerusalem, Compostella, Bamberg, and Syon Monastery in England. In Harley 1770, the reverse of the last folio (numbered 241) contains a hastily written list of indulgences to be gained at Jerusalem. It is written in a different hand from the rest of the manuscript, and the first six lines have been half erased. A much fuller text is in German (Arundel 6 ff. 44b-48a). This describes the various holy places in some detail, and constantly reiterates "wer do hin kumpt der ist ledig vnd loss aller seyner sunde," or indulgence of seven years and as many lents. In the same manuscript is a German text of the indulgences of Bamberg (f. 48b. ff.). This itemizes indulgences and relics in the monastery at that place.

In Harley 955 (ff. 73b-76b) is a list of the indulgences of Compostella. It states first the relics found there, e.g., the bodies of

<sup>1</sup> A shorter route from Aix to Rheinbach is mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> II, 139 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Roxburghe Club*, Vol. XXXVIII (1824). As this book is not paginated, I cannot give more exact references.

St. James, St. Athanasius, St. Theodore, St. Silvester, and in the chapel of the savior, "quamplurime reliquie quorum nomina vix possunt numerari." Then follows a statement of the indulgences: remission of a third of all sins, of all sins if the pilgrim dies there or en route, and some indulgences for special days and circumstances.

The list of indulgences for Syon Monastery is in English and is as follows:

To alle veraye contrite and confessid that comen by cause of deuocioun to this cherche or monasterye and there knelyng saye a pater noster and aue or what other deuoute prayer hit be, or in the same monasterye praye hertli for the pees tranquillite and stabulnes of this reme or for the vnite of holy church or for the encirce of charite charite as well in homself as in all cristen peple or for synners that they be conuerted or for ryghtwes that they be conformed. To hem all also that at euene at knylyng of the belle say thre auys or help lye handis to the makyng or conseruacion of the sayde monasterye as often as they doo any of these thynges deuoutly so often iiij Cardynalles trustyng in the mercy of all myghty god and in the mercy of the gloriouse uirgynne Mary, and of the holy apostels Petir and Paule by auctorite of the pope comited unto hem in that party relesen mercyfully in owre lorde eche of thes seyde Cardinales an C dayes of pardon of penaunce enioyned that is iiij C dayes for doying deuoutly ony of these thynges aboue sayde. Also to all ueraye repentaunt and schryuen that are present with deuocyon when the worde of god is preched by the bretheryn of this ordure so often the pope Boniface the XX releseth mercyfully an C dayes of penaunce enioyned whyche all other popes sethen haue conformed and the archebishop of Caunturbyry hathe graunted<sup>1</sup> unto the same xl dayes of pardon and the archebishop of zorke also xl daies and the bischop of london xl daies and the bischop of duram xl daies. Also to all uerrey contrite and schryuen that deuoutly visiten the churche from the furst bygynnyng of the furst euensonge of the feste of seynt petre ad uincula vnto the ende of the euensonge in the last daie of vtas euery daie with ynne these viij daies is graunted playner remission of alle synnes. Also euery daie in the yere is graunted remission of the thridde partye of all synnes and an Mille yere and xl yere and as mony lentes and in aduente and lenten all is doubled. Also the iiij sondaie of lente is graunted playner indulgence of alle synnes frome the begynnyng of the furst euensonge vnto the ende of the laste euensonge. Also the furst mondaie of lente and the mondaie in penticoste woke either daie the same indulgence that is at the stacions of rome whiche is holden playner forzeuened of all synnes. Also from the fridaie aftur the thridde sonday of lente vnto the vtas of esterne is

<sup>1</sup> At the bottom of the page is scribbled: "Penance enioyned is Prayer, fasting and Almes. These are all good and godly deedes. Ergo to pardon the doing of these, is to pardon the doing of good and godly deedes. But so to do is not good. Therefore such pardons are not good."

eueryday at the leste ij M and xxxij yere of pardon and as many lentes be side alle other indulgences to fore saide. Also in alle the grete festes of the yere there is an viij M yere of pardon and as many lentes. Also there is graunted all the pardon that is to any place of seynt austyns ordure thorw oute alle the worlde.

There follow a series of indulgences for various prayers.

#### IV. THE GENUINENESS OF THESE INDULGENCES AND THE INTERPRETATION OF THEM

How authentic the indulgences at Rome and elsewhere were, is an uncertain matter. Lepicier says: "The grant of Indulgences in connection with the Stations is so ancient, that the church in times gone by strictly forbade any catalogues of the same to be published as it was not possible to check them by the original documents."<sup>1</sup> Beringer states that all indulgences of a thousand or more years are "unecht oder gegenwärtig gänzlich zurückgenommen." Such indulgences, he says, are not in keeping with the practice of the church before the fourteenth century. In the thirteenth and even in the fourteenth centuries, indulgences are for a few days, a year, and seldom over five or seven years.<sup>2</sup> Yet not only were extravagant indulgences promised in the *libri indulgentiarum*; they were also announced in monuments at pilgrimage places. Von Hoensbroech says that in 1775 Pope Pius VI removed from the entrance of St. Praxed's two stones which promised daily indulgence of twelve thousand years.<sup>3</sup> The indulgence books frequently cite the grants of various popes; and at least one of those begins as though it were copying such a grant:

[P]apa gregorius vniuersis & singulis peregrinantibus quocunque tempore anni venientibus ad ecclesiam sancti petri apostoli ad ecclesiam sancti pauli apostoli ad ecclesiam sancti Iohannis Lateranensis ad ecclesiam sancte marie maioris, et ad ecclesiam sancti Laurencii extra muros causa deuocionis orationis & peregrinationis ei sine mortali peccato uota fracta peccata oblita offensiones patrum et matrum sine manuum iniiectione . . . . relaxat.<sup>4</sup>

Among the grants of this text are seven thousand years of indulgence on the anniversary of the dedication of St. Peter's.

<sup>1</sup> *Indulgences*, pp. 197-98.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Ablassse*, p. 127.

<sup>3</sup> *Das Papsttum in seiner sozial-kulturellen Wirksamkeit*, I, 284-85.

<sup>4</sup> Corpus Christi College, Cambridge manuscript 246.

Undoubtedly there was much gross exaggeration of the extent and the value of the indulgences gained by visits to shrines as well as of those sold by the pardoners. It is refreshing to note that occasionally, however, the correct interpretation of indulgences was given to the people. In a sermon on the indulgences at Syon Monastery, appears a very clear and systematic exposition of indulgences.<sup>1</sup> There are two elements in deadly sin, it tells us: the offense to God and the pain which the sinner must suffer in hell on account of his sin. When a sinner is contrite and has confessed, however, God forgives the sin and substitutes for pain in hell, temporal pain to be suffered in purgatory or on earth. Pardon (or indulgence) can take the place of this temporal pain. But one must understand that neither by confession nor by pardon alone is a man assoiled *a pena et a culpa*. By confession, one gets forgiveness of sin and is assoiled *a culpa*, but the debt of the pain remains. By pardon, he is released from this debt. By a hundred days or a hundred years of indulgence is meant not release from that many days or years in purgatory, but as much shortening of punishment as a hundred days or a hundred years of penance performed on earth would accomplish. The sermon is long and detailed: and it seems to be quite sound in its doctrine.

#### V. NOTES ON "THE STACIONS OF ROME"

W. M. Rossetti's "Notes" in the two editions of the English poem<sup>2</sup> explain nearly all allusions and identify most of the churches. Since their appearance, however, the important works of Armellini<sup>3</sup> and Marucchi<sup>4</sup> have made available much more information about the churches of Rome. In what follows I aim merely to supplement Rossetti's "Notes."

In none of the texts have I found any statement about the chapel in which Peter said his first mass (see Rossetti, A. p. xxiii); but a German blockbook (British Museum I A. 28) makes the following statement about a chapel in St. Peter's: "Item da is ayn capel da hat Sand Peter messe in gelesen ofte."

<sup>1</sup> Harley 2321, f. 17 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Political, Religious and Love Poems*, EETS. 15, pp. xxi ff. (referred to as A). *The Stacions of Rome*, etc., EETS. 25, pp. xi ff. (B).

<sup>3</sup> *Le chiese di Roma*, 2d ed., Rome, 1891.

<sup>4</sup> *Éléments d'Archéologie chrétienne, III. Basiliques et Églises de Rome*, Paris, 1902.

Rossetti, A. page xi, note to lines 55-56, reaches a wrong conclusion. The Latin texts repeatedly say that St. Peter's was consecrated on the octave of St. Martin, and they make the same statement about St. Paul's.

Cotton 188. Rossetti seems to have misunderstood "yn pe way." The story of our lady's appearing to a brother applies to this convent, not to a church of Santa Maria in Via; the Latin texts make the story apply to a brother of this monastery.

Vernon 126. Tibian is probably just a medieval transformation of Tiberius. Titus A XIX reads: "Sub cuius altari requiescant 10,000 martires occisi tempore tiberiani cesaris."

Cotton 183. Mills in Capgrave's *Solace of Pilgrimes*, page 160, note 2, says: "There used to be an old pilgrim's road from Tre Fontane to this church (S. Maria Annunciata), and thence on to S. Sebastiano."

Cotton 199. This church is frequently called the church of SS. Fabian and Sebastian, e.g., Harley 2321, f. 107a: "In ecclesia sanctorum ffabiani et sebastiani." Muffel (*op. cit.*) uses the same name. He says that St. Fabian's remains are under the high altar (so also Harley 2321). The story of Gregory and the angel is repeated in practically all sources (see for example Capgrave, *op. cit.*, p. 68).

Cotton 278. Rossetti's identification of the church of St. Thomas of Inde is probably incorrect. Because of its location it would seem to be the church of St. Thomas in Formis (see Armellini, p. 504; Marucchi, p. 215). Titus A XIX says this church is dedicated in honor of SS. Michael and Thomas—a statement that agrees with one by Armellini about the church of St. Thomas in Formis.

Cotton 536: "At seynt sympyll, fawstyne & betrys." This church is very rarely mentioned. Armellini tells of the discovery of ruins in a garden near St. Bibiana's and an inscription: "Anno domini . . . mense octobris Dedicationem hvivs ecclesie sanctorum martyrum Simplicii Favstini et Beatricis" (p. 806). Titus A XIX says: "In ecclesia sanctorum Simplicij faustini et beatricis 5000 anni."

Cotton 548. As noted above, Lambeth is right in naming this church as that of St. Vivian. It is not frequently mentioned in the *libri* but appears in a text of the *Mirabilia Romae* (1375) (see Nichols' *Marvels*, p. 144), and in a fourteenth-century list of Roman churches

(Armellini, p. 55). Titus A XIX says: "*In ecclesia sancti Viviani sunt 3000 anni. Ibi requiescunt 3000 martires, sicut scribitur ibidem in petra.*" Harley 2321 calls this church St. Bibian's, so also Armellini, page 804; Marucchi, page 344.

Vernon 437. Rossetti is certainly right in supposing this to refer to a church of St. Eusebius (see Armellini, p. 807; Marucchi, p. 342). Lepicier quotes an inscription on a wall of this church granting an indulgence of a thousand years and a hundred and twenty days (*Indulgences*, p. 300). Titus A XIX reads: "*In ecclesia sancti Eusebij et Vincencij, 300 anni.*"

Lambeth 566. Rossetti's note should be canceled. On St. Julian's see Armellini, page 810; Muffel, page 54. Titus A XIX says:

*In ecclesia sancti Iuliani 100 anni. Ibique scribitur quod si quis Pater noster et aue Maria deuote dixerit pro animabus patris et matris sancti Iuliani bonum habebit hospicium et iocundum sine aliqua aduersitate. Reliquie sunt ibi videlicet de lacte beate marie, mentum cum dentibus sancti Iuliani, de cinere sancti Iohannis baptiste, de spinea corona Christi, dens Sancte Appolonie Virginis.*

Vernon 463-64. Rossetti points out that these are "new in the Vernon manuscript." They were probably in the source of all extant versions, for Titus A XIX at this point reads: "*In ecclesia Sancti Mathei est brachium Sancti Christofori in quo portauit Christum et est indulgencia 1000 annorum et 7 pars remissionis*" (see Armellini, p. 244).

Vernon 473. Because of its location this church of St. Anthony is doubtless the first of those mentioned in Rossetti's note. For further information, see Armellini, page 813; Marucchi, page 337. Titus A XIX reads: "*In ecclesia sancti Antonij est remissio 7 partis peccatorum.*"

Lambeth 655 ff. Cotton Julius D viii f. 19b says that SS. Peter and Paul were "hospitati" in the church of St. Pudencian, that three thousand martyrs are buried there and that there are three thousand years and forty days of indulgence and the third part remission of sins. Marucchi mentions the "titulus pastoris," page 365.



Lambeth 823. Titus A XIX calls this church "*ecclesia Sancti Iacobi prope flumen.*"

Lambeth 828 f. Titus A XIX reads: "*Ibi est fons que influebat oleo illa nocte in qua Christus natus fuit.*"

Lambeth 856 ff. Rossetti was wrong in supposing that the Salvator was in the church of St. Eustace. Titus A XIX reads: "*In ecclesia sanctorum Eustachij et theophiste vxoris sue duorumque filiorum suorum Agapis et Theophisti quorum corpora sub maiori altare requiescunt sunt 2000 anni a papa celestino concessi. In ecclesia sancti saluatoris prope, 1530 anni.*" Because of its location near St. Eustace it is evidently the church of St. Salvatore in Thermis (see Armellini, p. 438).

Lambeth 866. Vernon 664. Add. 35, 298 states that a foot of Mary Magdalen was in St. Cecelia's.

Lambeth 868. Vernon 570. At this point in Titus A XIX, we read: "*In ecclesia sancti saluatoris de lucia, 1000 anni.*" As Lambeth says that this church is near St. Peter ad Vincula, it is probably St. Salvatore alle tre imagine (Armellini, p. 223).

Lambeth 892. f. Vernon 663 f. Vernon mentions no Mary Merle. From this point to the end the versions in Titus A XIX and Vernon agree in their general order, but Titus has many more items than Vernon.

Just what is meant by Mary Merle is difficult to decide. It can hardly have been S. Maria dei Miracoli (as Rossetti supposed) because the latter was not occupied by Dominicans. In 1216, Pope Honorius granted the church of St. Sabina, on the Aventine, to the Dominican Order. In his account of the church, Armellini refers to its walls as "*merlate*," a remark that intrigues one by the similarity of the word to Merle (p. 583). But I have not been able to find that the church is ever called by any other name than that of St. Sabina. Hence the reference in Lambeth is probably to S. Maria sopra Minerva, which in 1370 was granted to the Dominicans, who desired a more central location than their church on the Aventine (Armellini, p. 485). If the reference is to this church, it was evidently inserted at a late period (after 1370) into Lambeth's version. This judgment is confirmed by the fact that there is no correspondent to it in Titus A XIX.



Vernon 681. The reference is doubtless to the church of SS. Cirus and John. Titus A XIX inserts this after St. Bartholomew and before St. Lawrence in Damasco: "*In ecclesia sanctorum Ciri et Johannis extra portas tyberium est remissio quarte partis omnium peccatorum et ibi iacent corpora eorum.*" It is mentioned in the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century lists published by Armellini (*op. cit.*, pp. 53, 63. See his discussion p. 179).

Vernon 693. Rossetti is probably wrong as to the identification of this church; for Titus A XIX, after mentioning St. Clement's and St. Michael's near St. John Lateran, says: "*Iste sunt peregrinationes de sancto Iohanne lateranensi versus sanctum paulum*"; first "*porte quattuor coronatorum*," and then, "*In ecclesia Sancti Angeli in cimiterio eius unum annum.*" This does not seem to be any of the S. Angelos mentioned by Armellini (see references in his index).

Vernon 705. The next entry in Titus A XIX is: "*In ecclesia Sancti Stephani in celio monte, 1000 anni et tot quadragesime.*" This confirms Rossetti's identification.

Vernon 707. This St. Savior's is probably a different church from that mentioned in l. 570. In Titus A XIX just before St. Alexis' is this statement: "*In capella sancti Saluatoris extra portas versus sanctum paulum, remissio tercie partis omnium peccatorum.*" This is undoubtedly S. Salvatore della Porta (Armellini, p. 925).

Vernon 720. Titus A XIX reads: "*In ecclesia sancti Vrbani, 3384.*"

Vernon 717-18. Capgrave makes this statement about the church of St. Mary iuxta scolam grecorum, but the name of Thomas of Canterbury is struck through in the manuscript (*Ye Solace of Pilgrimes*, p. 167 and note 3; quotes Digby 196 fol. 10, which makes the same statement).

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## FOLK-LORE FROM SPAIN<sup>1</sup>

### THE FIESTA DEL GALLO IN BARBADILLO

Among the many traditional customs that yet survive in Old Castile is that of establishing the so-called *reinados* or kingdoms on the part of the young men and women of a village or town for the purpose of conducting in an appropriate and orderly manner its various festivals, amusements, games, and dances. The *reinados* are established yearly by vote and *reyes*, *reinas*, *alcaldes*, *alcaldesas*, *jueces*, etc., are elected to hold office for one year. These rulers or officers have powers that may even encroach upon the ordinary rights and duties of the *ayuntamientos*. The *mozos* have their *reinado* and have charge of all the functions that concern the young men of the locality, and the *mozas* have their separate *reinado* and have charge of all matters that concern the young women. On special occasions such as *Navidad*, *Día de Reyes*, etc., the two *reinados* work together and arrange amusements and games that differ widely from one locality to another.

In his interesting and important work, *Cancionero Popular de Burgos* (Sevilla, 1903, pp. 68-69) Federico Olmeda gives us a brief account of one of these Castilian *reinados* and the principal function thereof:

En Villanueva de Carazo, entre otros pueblos, hay la costumbre inmemorial de establecer en Navidad una junta de mozos que llaman *Reinado de Navidad*. Esta institución tiene por objeto recaudar fondos para sufragar gastos de gaita y por otro lado proporcionar algún género especial de diversiones. Para recaudar fondos, además de pedir por todas las casas aguinaldos, incluso la del señor cura, a quien llaman arcedianio, rifan la bandera, que adornada por un vistoso pañuelo de seda, es la enseña del Reinado. Para diversión tienen establecida una cierta lucha entre casados y solteros, y

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XXXIV (1921), 127-42, "A Folk-Lore Expedition to Spain." This is an account of my folk-lore expedition to Spain in 1920 under the auspices of the American Folk-Lore Society and the Junta para Ampliación de Estudios, Madrid. The folk-tales (some 300 in number) will be published by Leland Stanford Junior University (*University Publications*) in four volumes. Volume I is now in press. I also collected about 200 traditional ballads and these we have presented to don Ramón Menéndez Pidal as our contribution to his future *Romancero Español*.

antes forman el Reinado nombrando Rey y Reina a los dos mozos de más ascendiente del pueblo.

In the foregoing account, Olmeda goes on to describe some of the diversions of the village of *Villanueva* conducted by the young men of the *Reinado*. Although he says that they name a *Rey* and a *Reina*, he does not mention anywhere the separate *reinados*. Since his book is written for a Spanish public, he probably took it for granted that his readers were aware of the fact that the two separate *reinados* exist wherever the old custom prevails. The existence of the two *reinados*, that of the *mozos* and that of the *mozas*, is attested for Barbadillo del Mercado near Salas de los Infantes, in the province of *Burgos*, by don León Abad, a school teacher of Barbadillo whose hospitality I enjoyed on a short visit to Salas de los Infantes and Barbadillo and to whom I owe some of the information here presented.

For many of the important festivals certain special functions of a prescribed character take place accompanied by song and dance or merely song. Of these festivals *la Navidad*, or Christmas, is the most important and both the *mozos* and the *mozas* take part. The ceremony in this case partakes of a religious character and the *reinados* not only work together but co-operate with the *curas* and other church dignitaries to make this festival the most important feast of the year. The two *reinados* attend mass in a body, dressed in their showy and gorgeous attire, according to the customs peculiar to each locality, and after mass the festivities of the day are entirely in their hands. Equally important may be said to be *el Día de Reyes*, and on this occasion also both *reinados* attend mass in a body, sing Christmas carols, make offerings to the Child Jesus, and then depart.

But in spite of the religious character of the majority of these festivals, customs prevail that have nothing to do with the day in question and which possibly have their origin in immemorial pagan traditions. One of these is *La Fiesta del Gallo* as it is conducted in Barbadillo del Mercado<sup>1</sup> by the *reinado de las mozas* or young women's kingdom. This strange diversion is conducted in the main

<sup>1</sup> Village in Old Castile near Salas de los Infantes, famous in the legendary history of Spain on account of its having been the home of doña Lambra after her marriage to Ruy Velázquez in the legend of the Infantes de Lara. Cf. the old ballad *Yo me estaba en Barbadillo, Primavera* 19.

by the *mozas*, but the *mozos* also have a part, and takes place on *el Día de la Candelaria* or *las Candelas*, or Candlemas, the second day of February, immediately after mass. The ceremony is as follows: The *mozas* all dressed in white leave the church in a body, headed by their *reina* to the plaza where the *alcalde* of the village awaits their coming. They bring with them a live rooster. The queen salutes the *alcalde* and asks permission to conduct in the plaza the ceremony of the killing of the rooster. The permission given, the ceremony begins. The *mozos*, who have also appeared in a body, help to hang the rooster by the legs with a long string. They also tie strings from different directions in order to move the rooster up and down and to and fro, when the *reina* attacks it to kill it. The ceremony ends with the death of the rooster and a supper attended by the *mozos* and *mozas*, and the supper, as a rule, is followed by a *baile* in the open plaza. Inasmuch as one rooster does not suffice for the supper, the *reina* who has killed it marches through the village with the dead rooster's head on the end of her sword. She is followed by her *compañeras* and sometimes also by the *rey* and his *compañeros*. All demand food for the rooster. In this way a good supper is provided.<sup>1</sup>

The account above gives a brief summary of this strange ceremony. Before the *reina* actually begins the attempt to kill the rooster, the part of the ceremony that provokes the most fun for the *mozos*, she recites or sings (usually sings in *Barbadillo*) a long series of verses in assonated octosyllabic quatrains. These verses are for us the most interesting part of this ceremony and I was fortunate enough to obtain a manuscript copy of them, through the kindness of don León Abad., as they were sung in *Barbadillo* in 1918. These verses are given below exactly as they appear in the manuscript of *Maria Cruz*, sixteen years of age. It will be noted that errors in spelling are almost totally absent. *Real* is spelled *rial* in one place, but this is a popular pronunciation prevalent in all parts of Spain. We are in a part of Spain, in Old Castile, where the language is spelled practically as it is pronounced. I have supplied, of course, the proper punctuation and capitalization when necessary.

<sup>1</sup> This part of the *Fiesta del Gallo* is also described well by Olmeda, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73. Olmeda states that the *mozas* kill the *gallo* but does not speak of the *reinado* or *reina*. He gives five quatrains which the *mozas* sing and which we quote later.

*Reina:*

Yo soy la reina, señores,  
que me encuentro tan valiente;  
no he de esconder la cara  
aunque me encuentre con siete.

Y ahora voy a pelear  
con todos los mis vasallos;  
hagan enchura,<sup>1</sup> señores,  
que voy a matar el gallo.

Yo soy la reina, señores,  
la reina de este lugar.  
A este gallo, por traidor,<sup>2</sup>  
le tenemos que matar.

Cuento con mis compañeras  
que aquí presentes están.  
Compañeras, ¿qué decís?  
¿qué tenéis que declarar?

*Compañeras:*

¡Viva su rial majestad!  
¡Vivan la reina y el rey!  
que si este pícaro muere  
todas comeremos de él.

*Reina:*

Atención, que va la historia,  
y a referirla me atrevo,  
de este desdichado gallo  
que se ha corrido en el pueblo.

Ya le han vendado los ojos,  
ya han armao traición en ello;  
ya le han rodeado de galas  
pa que no hagan sentimiento.

Le han rodeado de oro y plata  
y para mayor afrenta  
hemos de entregarle al pueblo  
sin ojos pa que no vea.

¡Terribles modos de andar!  
¡Duros campos de pelea!  
Al inocente sin culpa  
en un evangel<sup>3</sup> le llevan.

<sup>1</sup> Anchura.

<sup>2</sup> Just why the cock is called traitor is not clear, but it could be explained as a popular tradition inspired in the passage from the New Testament where Peter denies he knows the Lord as the cock crows. Cf. St. Matthew. XXVI, 69-75.

<sup>3</sup> Sic, in manuscript and probably an error.

No hubiera un embajador  
que a su rey le diera cuenta  
bajara un águila real,  
dos mil aviespas con ella,  
dando al diablo el tamboril,  
al cojo y a la su suegra,  
que la flauta de las masas  
ha costado mucho hacerla.

Y las señoras mujeres,  
sientesen<sup>1</sup> adonde puedan.  
Ya se han sentado al sol  
cuatro, cinco, media docena.

No dejan cura ni fraile,  
ni casada ni soltera,  
ni estudiantes ni ermitaños,  
que a todos no les den vuelta.

Traemos gallo y gallina,  
almangún y banderilla;  
venimos moros y moras  
todos juntos en cuadrillas.

Si el gallo traía listones,  
las doncellitas amores;  
si el gallo traía corales,  
las doncellitas galanes.

Gallo, que estabas ayer  
corriendo por las esquinas,  
yo te juro por mi nombre  
no has de prender más gallinas.

¿Quién te diría a ti, gallo,  
cuando andabas con gallinas,  
las harías arrecoclés,  
las echabas entradillas?

Gallo, que estabas ayer  
corriendo por esas tapias,  
ahora te ves aquí  
entre tan buenas muchachas.

Este gallo pinto y rojo  
tiene las plumas doradas.  
Aquí has de morir, traidor,  
a la punta de esta espada.

<sup>1</sup> Siéntense. The metathesis is not phonetic but analogical, since a final *-n* is the characteristic ending of the third person of the plural. The form is found in New Mexico and other localities. See my *Studies in New Mexican Spanish*. I, *Phonology*, §214.

Este gallo escarbador,  
que escarba trigas y avenas,  
aquí has de morir, traidor,  
a manos de esta doncella.

Este gallo escarbador,  
que escarba trigo y centeno,  
aquí has de morir, traidor,  
a la punta de este acero.

Este gallo escarbador,  
que escarba trigo y cebada,  
aquí has de morir, traidor,  
a la punta de esta espada.

Este gallo escarbador,  
que escarba centeno y trigo,  
aquí has de morir, traidor,  
en la plaza e<sup>1</sup> Barbadillo.

Este gallo pinto y rojo,  
pinto y rojo y muy galán,  
le tengo<sup>2</sup> cortar la cresta  
y la tengo<sup>2</sup> regalar

a don Eustacio . . .  
médico de este lugar,  
para cuando caiga enferma  
que me venga a visitar.

El cuerpo es pa el señor cura  
que es del gallo lo mejor,  
revuelto con chorizos;  
mejor será con arroz.

Las tripas mando se guarden,  
que suelen ser estimadas,  
pa dárselas a las viejas  
para que morcillas hagan.

Las plumas mando a las mozas  
que las suelen menester,  
para que barran la artesa  
cuando vayan a cocer.

Las uñas mando a los gatos  
que las llevan de contino,  
que con ellas muchas veces  
suelen rapar el tocino.

<sup>1</sup> de. The silent *d* makes synalepha possible and this is necessary for metrical reasons.

<sup>2</sup> *tengo que* or *tengo de*. With silent *d* and synalepha the construction *tengo e* would make the meter regular. See note above.

El testamento ya está hecho,  
y el cargo te dejo a ti.  
El pico mando al Tío Quico  
pa que toque el tamboril.

Yo soy la reina, señores,  
la reina de este lugar;  
con licencia del Alcalde  
el gallo vengo a matar.

Yo soy la reina, señores,  
que María Cruz me llamo;  
con licencia del Alcalde  
vengo a matar este gallo.

Reina soy, quiero reinar;  
la causa yo bien la sé;  
ha de haber guerra sangrienta  
antes del anochecer.

Soy hija del señor Vicente  
y yo me llamo María.  
Voy a matar este gallo  
pa que no ronde a mis<sup>1</sup> gallinas.

## NOTES

The verses beginning *El cuerpo es pa el señor cura* and ending with *pa que toque el tamboril* seem to be the words of the rooster making his last will and testament, and the words *El testamento ya está hecho y el cargo lo dejo a ti* seem addressed to the *reina* herself. In the manuscript, however, all the strophes are put under *la reina* with the exception of the strophe of the *compañeras*.

The verse *Traemos gallo y gallina* is interesting since it seems to indicate that not only a *gallo* but also a *gallina* is brought to the ceremony. In none of the accounts that I have is there any justification for the words of the verse. The verse *venimos moros y moras* refers to the young men and young women respectively of the two *reinados* and is a good example of the fact that even today the memories of the Moorish days are still alive in the minds of the Spanish people.

Curiously enough the cock is the victim of many a Spanish amusement from the cock fight to the game described by Olmeda, *op. cit.*, page 73, where he states:

En otras partes que se celebra esta fiesta, en lugar de ser colgado el gallo, lo entierran, dejándole la cabeza fuera. Al muchacho que quiere probar su

<sup>1</sup> Metrically and logically a *mis* is superfluous.



tino se le vendan los ojos, y a un número determinado de pasos, suelta el golpe, que a lo mejor va a parar contra una esquina porque con facilidad, por las vueltas que antes le dan, le hacen perder la dirección de la pista que debía seguir para ir derecho al gallo.

Here then we have the *mozos* and not the *mozas* killing or attempting to kill the rooster, and apparently in a somewhat brutal way, for the *mozo* may not only happen to hit *una esquina* but the body of the rooster and simply torture him before killing him.

This last torture of the rooster buried in the ground recalls at once another very brutal ceremony which I saw many times in southern Colorado when a boy, evidently another Spanish sport, called *el Gallo*, *jugar al Gallo*, to play rooster, or with the rooster. A rooster was buried alive in the ground with its head sticking out. Men and boys on horseback would then take their turn, and, running by the rooster at great speed, would attempt to seize it by the head. The successful one would then escape with his prey, and the rest would pursue him in the attempt to pull the cock away from him. Being hit in the face with the rooster and tearing the poor rooster to pieces, were only some of the milder occurrences of these brutal games. In Colorado and New Mexico this sport was a regular game which up to some twenty-five years ago was hardly ever omitted on St. John's day or any other great religious festival. This was the national sport, one might say, in place of the bullfight, which does not seem to have been popular in these old Spanish regions.

I do not find in any of the publications which I possess any information about the New Mexican game of *el gallo* above described, but the connection with the ceremony of the killing of the rooster at *Barbadillo* is not remote. In both cases the cock is the victim and in the case described by Olmeda the cock is buried as in the New Mexican game. The *Fiesta del Gallo* of *Barbadillo* is evidently a less cruel and more modern ceremony. The New Mexican game may be one of the older Spanish forms of the game. To my knowledge the Indians of the regions in question do not and never did have such a game, and I therefore believe it to be a Spanish institution.

Although the cock is killed in a gentle manner by the *mozas*, even in this case we have a survival of the cruelty exercised on the victim in the ceremony of the strings which in the control of the

mozos prolong the rooster's agony. The elements of song probably had no counterpart in the old custom. When the song was once introduced the idea of the animal to be sacrificed making a last will and testament was added. This element is common in literary tradition and a Latin version of the "Last Will and Testament of a Little Pig" is at least as old as the fourth century, since it is mentioned by St. Jerome, the famous *Testamentum Porcelli*.<sup>1</sup> I am even inclined to believe that the fragmentary version of what might have been a complete will and testament of the *gallo* of Barbadillo is modeled after some old Spanish version of the *Testamentum Porcelli* or a similar *Testamentum*. It would be very interesting and important to have several long versions of the *cantos al gallo* from various Castilian localities. We could then make out a primitive version of the whole story. Olmeda gives a very brief version of the *cantos al gallo* on page 73; but it is clear that there also the last will and testament idea is not lost. The *cantos* consist of the five following octosyllabic quatrains:

Con licencia de Dios<sup>2</sup>  
 Y la del Señor Alcalde  
 Hemos de matar el gallo  
 Y en sin meternos con nadie.  
 Gallito, que estás colgado,  
 Tienes las plumas de seda  
 Y has de venir a morir  
 en manos de estas doncellas.  
 Este gallo es de Alcocero,  
 Vecino de Virumbrales.  
 Y el que no lo quia creer  
 Pregúntelo a Moncales.  
 También vamos a mandar  
 Las plumas de junto al rabo  
 Para que pueda escribir  
 El fiel de fechos de ogaño.  
 Ya te se ha acabado, ¡oh gallo!  
 El dormir con las gallinas;  
 Y el cantar por la mañana  
 Saludando al nuevo día.

<sup>1</sup> *Comment. in Ia.* XII, introduction.

<sup>2</sup> Probably an error for *Con la licencia de Dios*, which is better for grammatical and metrical reasons.

*La Fiesta del Gallo* as celebrated in Barbadillo del Mercado is a festival of a type similar to the Old Roman *Lupercalia*. There are a few close parallels between the two in the actual details. Furthermore the Christian festival of the 2d of February, the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, when the *Fiesto del Gallo* takes place, symbolizes the renewal of life through sacrifice in the same way as the old Roman *Lupercalia*. The old Roman festival was celebrated on the 15th of February, the last month of the old Roman Calendar, and the feast of the Purification of the Virgin was formerly celebrated on the 14th of the same month. The change to the 2d of February was instituted by Pope Gelasius I in the year 494.<sup>1</sup>

A direct relation between these two festivals, however, is not certain, and less certain is a direct relation between any of the ceremonies of the Roman *Lupercalia* and the *Fiesta del Gallo* of Barbadillo. Indeed festivals of a type very similar to the Castilian *Fiesta del Gallo* are found among many peoples of modern Europe and belong to a more general type of vegetation cults. The vestiges of a primitive human sacrifice persist in the animal sacrifice of the modern festivals and the sacrifice of a cock is not uncommon.<sup>2</sup> The study of these apparently old and traditional festivals is not the subject-matter of the present article.

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<sup>1</sup> See W. Warde Fowler, *The Roman Festivals*, London, 1899, pp. 310-31, and C. F. Unger, *Die Lupercalien*, 1880.

<sup>2</sup> See especially J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, London, 1894, Vol. II, chap. iii, *The Corn Spirit as a Cock*. The ceremonies of the sacrifice of the cock in Transylvania and Westphalia as described by Frazer are very similar to those of the Castilian *Fiesta del Gallo*.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES

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*An Etymological Dictionary of Modern English.* By ERNEST WEEKLEY, M.A. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1921. Pp. xx+830.

Those reviews of Professor Weekley's *Dictionary* which have emphasized the whimsical or humorous remarks in it, have given an entirely erroneous impression of the character of the book. To an American, at least, those remarks seem rather feeble as jokes, but they occur so rarely that they in no way impair the value of the work. Professor Weekley's book is, in fact, the first important effort at an English etymological dictionary since Skeat's. It is inspired by a real enthusiasm for words, by scholarship and by painstaking industry. For his derivations the author has used the latest etymological works (his bibliography, however, does not include Webster's *New International Dictionary*) and to them he has added new theories and explanations. Moreover for some words he has been able to give quotations earlier than the first in the *Oxford Dictionary*. In this connection he has made telling use of surnames, showing earlier occurrence of such words as *countinghouse* and *green* (in sense of "village green") in that capacity. He omits entirely the ultimate "roots" found in Skeat, a commendable practice as such abstractions are in themselves more or less dubious and must have little meaning for general readers.

Perhaps the most valuable features of Professor Weekley's *Dictionary*, however, are the definiteness of indication of meaning developments and analogical changes, and the thoroughness of his etymologies of Romance words. When a word has undergone some alteration in meaning, there is usually an indication of the kind of change, with references to other examples of the same process. Frequently in noting special meanings and idioms, the author cites idioms and semantic developments of words of the same meaning in other languages, especially French. Thus by a brief search in the book, a person can collect many good examples of any sort of semantic development. Similar explicit information is given about analogical alterations in the forms of words. Professor Weekley's etymologies of Romance words usually cite cognates and ultimate sources, indicating even hypothetical Vulgar Latin forms. In verbs derived from Latin past participles, however, the author always gives the infinitive as source. Why he should make the exact method of formation of such words obscure, is a curious problem.

In words of Germanic origin, though not many positive errors appear, the information given is less complete than that for Romance words. Hypo-

thetical forms are rarely given, and the ways by which words are derived from their sources are not indicated. In so simple a case as the derivation of weak verbs (like feed) from nouns or strong verbs, the method of derivation is not shown. Indeed it may be said that the author gives much less attention to the phonetic aspect of words than to the semantic.

For many reasons such an effort as Professor Weekley made to include slang words in a general etymological dictionary seems inadvisable: even an approach to completeness is impossible; and if the author must trust to books, as Professor Weekley evidently does for American slang, ludicrous misunderstandings will occur. An American is surprised to learn that *dinky* means "dainty, spruce," that *do oneself well* is "U.S." that *absquatulate* is in any general American use. Many other classes of words are included which are more or less out of place in such a dictionary: nonce-words like *balkanize*, Latin abbreviations used as signatures by English bishops (e.g. *Ebor*), names of famous persons or things (such as *Augsburg Confession*, *Janus*, *Autolycus*, *Damocles*, *Galahad*, "Added by Walter Map to the Arthurian legends"! ) dialect words (like *laystall*) and extremely rare and learned words (*nichitate*, *Krantz*, *Kraitl*.) Had such words, and perhaps also the learned names of plants and animals, been omitted, the book could have been reduced by a third, its price could have been lessened, and hence it could have been made available to a wider public.

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*Beowulf: An Introduction to the Study of the Poem with a Discussion of the Stories of Offa and Finn.* By R. W. CHAMBERS. Cambridge: University Press, 1921. Pp. xii+417.

The ground covered by this book may be indicated best by the chapter headings: The Historical Elements; The Non-historical Elements; Theories as to the Origin, Date and Structure of the Poem; Documents Illustrating the Stories in *Beowulf*, and the *Offa*-Saga; The Fight at Finnsburg; Appendix and Bibliography of *Beowulf* and *Finnsburg*.

It is evident from the foregoing list that the book considers the most important aspects of *Beowulf*. With his usual industry, Professor Chambers has read widely in Beowulfian criticism; and now, having all the data at his disposal, he attempts to settle the problems connected with the poems. Such a plan has obvious disadvantages: in the first place, it seems presumptuous in any man who has little or no new evidence, to attempt the solution of a mass of problems, on which a large number of able investigators have been unable to reach agreement; and secondly, the plan naturally causes a proportioning of material which is hardly fair to those who do not agree with the writer. It would seem that a book which would survey impartially the views about *Beowulf* somewhat as Wülker did in his *Grundriss der angel-*

sächsischen Literatur—would have been a more satisfactory "Introduction to the Study of the Poem." Professor Chambers, however, feels it necessary to reach positive conclusions. For example, as to the relation between *Beowulf* and the *Grettis*-story, he says: "This is one of the questions which the student cannot leave open, because our view of the origin of the *Grendel*-story will have to depend largely upon the view we take as to its connection with the episode in the *Grettis* saga" (p. 50). Certainly some scholars feel that it is not worth while to resolve on making a decision when the evidence for any hypothesis is so ambiguous as it is in this case.

Readers will differ in their opinion of the validity of Professor Chambers' conclusions. In general his reasoning seems to me cogent when it leads to a negative result, feeble when it leads to a positive conclusion. In particular the acceptance of relations between *Beowulf* and the Story of Bothvar Bjarki seems extremely weak. At times he reaches a positive conclusion with almost no evidence. For instance, after pointing out the facts of the dialect of *Beowulf* (late West Saxon with sporadic non-West Saxon forms), and even admitting the scantiness of our knowledge of Old English dialects, he writes: "We may accept the view that the poem was in all probability originally written in some non-West-Saxon dialect, and most probably in an Anglian dialect, since this is confirmed by the way in which the Anglian hero Offa is dragged into the story" (p. 105). The use of Offa is, in fact, the only evidence in favor of the view, and of course, that is explainable in many other ways.

Throughout the book, however, Professor Chambers is obviously animated by a desire to reach the truth, and his work is the most comprehensive consideration of *Beowulf* now available. It may be noted, finally, that his reconstruction of the story of Finn, though complicated and built in large part on slender inference, is the best yet offered.

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*Gil Vicente*. BY AUBREY F. G. BELL. Oxford University Press.

Hispanic Notes and Monographs, Portuguese Series, No. 1, 1921.

*The Play of the Sibyl Cassandra*. BY GEORGIANA GODDARD KING.

Bryn Mawr Notes and Monographs, No. 2. New York:

Longmans, Green and Co., 1921.

Mr. Bell is favorably known to students of the Peninsular literatures as the author of a history of Portuguese literature, as the editor and translator of various plays of Gil Vicente and as a writer of many critical articles on the literature of Portugal. We may safely assume that, at least among the older writers, Gil Vicente is Mr. Bell's favorite, and that this new study has been written *con amore*.

The size of the book—seventy pages—rendered it impossible for the author to consider in detail the many troublesome questions which present themselves to the student of Vicente's plays, and which are still unsolved in spite of the considerable number of critical studies devoted to them in the last twenty-five years, as recorded in Mr. Bell's very useful bibliography. In fact, some of the most vexatious problems are not even mentioned. The author limits himself to the briefest possible account of the poet's life, to a casual mention of the plays with a detailed analysis in the case of only a few of them, and to rather superficial statements concerning the influence exercised by Vicente upon contemporaneous and later dramatists in Portugal, Spain, and other countries.

Even making allowance for the limited scope of the book, it is regrettable, in my opinion, that it is lacking in plan and logical arrangement of material. There is no continuity, so far as I can discover, between the various chapters. The reader who seeks here a study of the development of Vicente's dramatic technique from the crude Monologue of the year 1502 to the finished plays of his mature years will be disappointed. No attempt has been made to arrange the material either chronologically or by *genre*, and there is a noteworthy lack of proportion in the amount of space accorded to the various plays.

Mr. Bell is most successful in his picture of Vicente's social background, and he is least successful in discussing Vicente's antecedents and his relations with Spanish literature. The fascinating problem of the mingling of medieval and humanistic elements in his plays receives scant attention. His debt to the liturgy or liturgical drama, to popular songs, to folk lore and popular superstitions, is scarcely mentioned. We still need an authoritative statement regarding the scope of his reading and his literary interests.

With respect to Vicente's relations with Spanish literature, Mr. Bell mentions the influence of Encina upon the earliest plays and then contents himself with stating that "he soon went further afield and found in Juan Ruiz, Archpriest of Hita, in *El Conde Lucanor*, in Gómez Manrique, Torres Naharro, Lucas Fernández, *La Celestina*, and other prose-writers and poets much matter to digest." This is very vague. One wonders what Vicente could have found to digest among the works of Gómez Manrique. As for Torres Naharro, he might have recalled the statement made long ago by Menéndez y Pelayo that the combination of the dodesyllabic verse with its hemistich, made by Torres Naharro in his *Diálogo del Nacimiento*, is also found in Vicente's *Auto da Feira* and *Auto da Historia de Deos*, and that there is an unexplained resemblance between the figure of the noble lover disguised as a gardener in the *Comedia do viuvo* and the *Comedia Aquilana*. If the former play was composed in 1514—and this is not certain—the priority belongs to Vicente. The problem is further complicated by the fact that the same situation is found in the *Libro segundo de Palmerin* and in Vicente's *Dom Duardos*. There are also other points of contact between the two



dramatists. There is a close similarity between the Annunciation scene in the *Diálogo del Nacimiento* and *Auto da Mofina Mendes*, and also a resemblance between the figure of Fama in the *Comedia Trofea* and *Auto da Fama*.

Mr. Bell tells us (p. 60) that the influence of Vicente "is seen in the *pasos* of Lope de Rueda, in the plays of Micael de Carvajal, who continued Luis Hurtado's *Las Cortes de la Muerte* (1557), based partly on Vicente's *Barcas*, and in many other more or less obscure *autos* as well as in the work of the great dramatists." I do not believe there is a scrap of evidence that Rueda was influenced by Vicente. Independent comic scenes which were *pasos* in all but in name are found in the works of Torres Naharro, which antedate by a number of years the first appearance of such scenes in Vicente's plays. As for Carvajal, there is not a trace of Vicente in the *Tragedia Josephina*. Mr. Bell reverses the rôles of Carvajal and Hurtado de Toledo in his mention of *Las Cortes de la Muerte*, and I doubt whether the latter was inspired by Vicente's *Barcas*, in spite of the similarity in subject. There is good reason to believe that Lope de Vega owed something to Vicente in his composition of *El viaje del Alma*, and there is undoubtedly considerable resemblance between Vicente's *Auto da Historia de Deos* and Palau's *Victoria de Christo*. It might also have been mentioned that the circle of unhappy lovers in the *Auto pastoril portuguez* was taken over into the *Diana* by Montemayor, and occurs in several later Spanish plays.

With respect to the influence of Vicente upon the creation of Falstaff (p. 58), I must admit that I should prefer the negative side if I were obliged to debate it.

While Mr. Bell's essay offers little that is absolutely new for students of Portuguese literature, it will doubtless make more generally known the work of the most delightful dramatist in Europe in the first half of the sixteenth century.

The purpose of Miss King's essay is to explain the appearance of the sibyls and Solomon in Vicente's Christmas play entitled *Auto da Sibilla Cassandra*, which was probably performed in 1509 or 1513, according to A. Braamcamp Freire, and not in 1503, as has generally been accepted. It is a well-known fact that the prophecy of the Erythraean Sibyl, with the awe-inspiring Fifteen Signs of Doomsday, formed a part of the pseudo-Augustinian sermon *Contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos*, which was read in many churches at Christmas, and that the Middle Ages knew not only one, but a dozen sibyls, possessed of prophetic powers. Miss King has made a careful study of early liturgical pieces that contain references to the sibyls, and from her wide acquaintance with medieval art, she has been able to cite many examples of their use in plastic and pictorial representation.

It is by no means certain that the text described by Fernando de Vallejo, cited by Cañete, which is supposed to contain the earliest reference to the introduction of the scene of the sibyl, actually belongs to the eleventh or even to the thirteenth century (p. 16). Neither Cañete nor Vallejo can be



regarded as an authority on this point. It is still less certain that this scene constituted a real play (p. 17). There is no question, however, that the sibyl was known in Spain, for aside from the reference in the *Valencian Breviary* mentioned by Miss King, Francisco Asenjo Barbieri<sup>1</sup> describes a ceremony which took place at Toledo during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in which the sibyl's prophecy played an important part.

The identification of a sibyl who comes to speak with Solomon in the *Cursor Mundi* as the Queen of Sheba leads Miss King to affirm that Solomon was represented as a prophet in Vicente's play because of his association with the Queen of Sheba, who was regarded as a sibyl, and therefore as a prophetess. While it is true that Solomon was often represented in company with the Queen of Sheba in painting and sculpture, and occasionally in literary texts, it seems more probable to me that Solomon was introduced as a prophet in the *Auto da Sibilla Cassandra* because, according to the common interpretation of the time, he was supposed to have alluded to the Virgin when singing the praises of his Beloved in the *Song of Songs*. This is the interpretation given by Vicente himself in one of the early scenes of the *Auto da Mofina Mendes*.

Miss King's essay will enable us to read with better understanding the charming *Auto da Sibilla Cassandra*, and gives further evidence of the interesting relationship that existed in the Middle Ages between drama and the pictorial and plastic arts.

J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

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*Horace and His Influence.* By GRANT SHOWERMAN, Professor of Classics, University of Wisconsin. Boston, Mass.: Marshall Jones Company, 1922. 8vo, pp. xvii+176.

The volume is the fourteenth in the series "Our Debt to Greece and Rome," edited by George Depue Hadzsits, of the University of Pennsylvania, and David Moore Robinson, of Johns Hopkins University. The general circular of the series announces "authoritative but non-technical books written for the general reader of cultivated taste."

Mr. Showerman divides his material into three main sections: Horace Interpreted, Horace through the Ages, and Horace the Dynamic. The first is a pleasant *causerie* in flowing style, setting before the reader the poet as he appears in his works. The last presents an estimate of the influence exerted upon present-day or almost-present-day literature by Horace's precept in the *Ars Poetica* and by his example in the lyrics. The second division professes to trace through history the fortunes of Horace both as critic and as poet; and it is here that the author is most likely to disappoint

<sup>1</sup> *Canclonero musical de los siglos xv y xvi*, p. 134.

the cultured reader for whom the series is designed. Suppose that reader interested to some degree in the effect exerted upon French literature by the rediscovery of Horace; he will learn from the page and a quarter assigned to France that the Pleiad used the *Ars Poetica* to buttress its innovations in poetic theory. But he will have no idea of what it was that the rising school supplanted, nor of what contributions Horatianism made to the spirit of that new age. The author cites editions and translations, but leaves the reader for his pains no more than a bald list of "great authors inspired by Horace." Altogether, the first section could best be written by a classicist, and the last by a sympathetic spectator of modern life and literature—and Mr. Showerman combines the two qualifications to a somewhat unusual degree; but the historical division degenerates toward a list of references and generalities because the author appears to have drawn for it more upon manuals and journals than upon any wide purposive reading of his own in that part of the field. This division should have been written by a modernist with the same discernment and delicate touch which Mr. Showerman shows in his familiar material.

For, after all, the task set to the author has been carried out with insight and feeling; its insufficiencies, from the point of view of the reader interested for example in Romance literature, are to be laid at the door of the editorial policy of the series. To them must be ascribed the defects of Mr. Showerman's book; its merits are his own.

ROBERT V. MERRILL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Norske Folkeviser: I; Folkeutgave ved KNUT LIESTOL og MOLTKE MOE.* Kristiania: Jacob Dybwads Forlag, 1920. Pp. 250.

Not since the publication of Landstad's *Norske Folkeviser*, in 1853, and of Bugge's *Gamle Norske Folkeviser*, in 1858, has so important a collection of Norwegian ballads appeared as this edition by Liestol and Moe. Various smaller and larger books, it is true, have come from the press, notably in the past decades, such as *Lammers's Norske Folkeviser I-II*, Berge's *Norsk Vise-fugg* and his *Norske Folkeviser*, drawn from the material left by Sophus Bugge, Hulda Garborg's *Norske Folkeviser I-II*, and her *Norske Danseviser*, and Liestol and Moe's *Norske Folkeviser fra Middelalderen*. Yet the present collection is most significant among the later publications both in its performance and in its promise. The plan is somewhat comprehensive; upon this first volume are expected to follow two similar volumes at intervals of a year. The contents, too, are fairly representative. There are forty numbers, the first of which is the splendid vision-poem "Draumkvaedet"; the remainder are legendary, historical, and romantic pieces of the traditional type that has become familiar to students of the English, Scottish, and Scandinavian

popular ballads. Some are distinctly Northern in origin and character; others are of more general currency. This is a popular edition, intended to supply a growing need especially among the younger people of Norway. The editors have therefore presented the material in such shape as to appeal to the average reader; to this end they have annotated each number with useful details as to the history of the ballad, with brief explanations of the more difficult passages, and with such lexicographical information as is required by reason of the fact that the texts appear, with a few exceptions, in a somewhat normalized form of the dialect of Telemarken. An Introduction of some twenty pages discusses the subject-matter, style, and language of the poems, not so fully as does the Introduction to Olrik's smaller edition of the Danish ballads, but sufficiently for the purpose in view. Although much curious lore of interest primarily to the specialist has consequently been excluded, the scholar will nevertheless find here a book to be reckoned with. It should be added that the editorial language of the collection is "landsmaal."

The name of the late Moltke Moe appears upon the title-page because he had for many years before his death been at work on the materials from which the selection has been made. In the case of this particular volume he was responsible for the accepted redaction of thirteen of the texts and had collaborated with Mr. Liestol in four others; the remaining numbers Mr. Liestol himself has prepared for publication. Upon him will fall the further labor of providing—at not too remote a date, it is to be hoped—the definitive critical edition of the corpus of Norwegian ballads which is expected to find a place beside the monuments of Grundtvig and of Child.

One of the ballads in this volume (No. 21: "Dei tri vilkori") will be of some interest to students of Shakespeare. As pointed out by the editors, this ballad deriving immediately from a Scandinavian adaptation of an immigrant romance, forms a striking parallel to the main plot of "All's Well That Ends Well."

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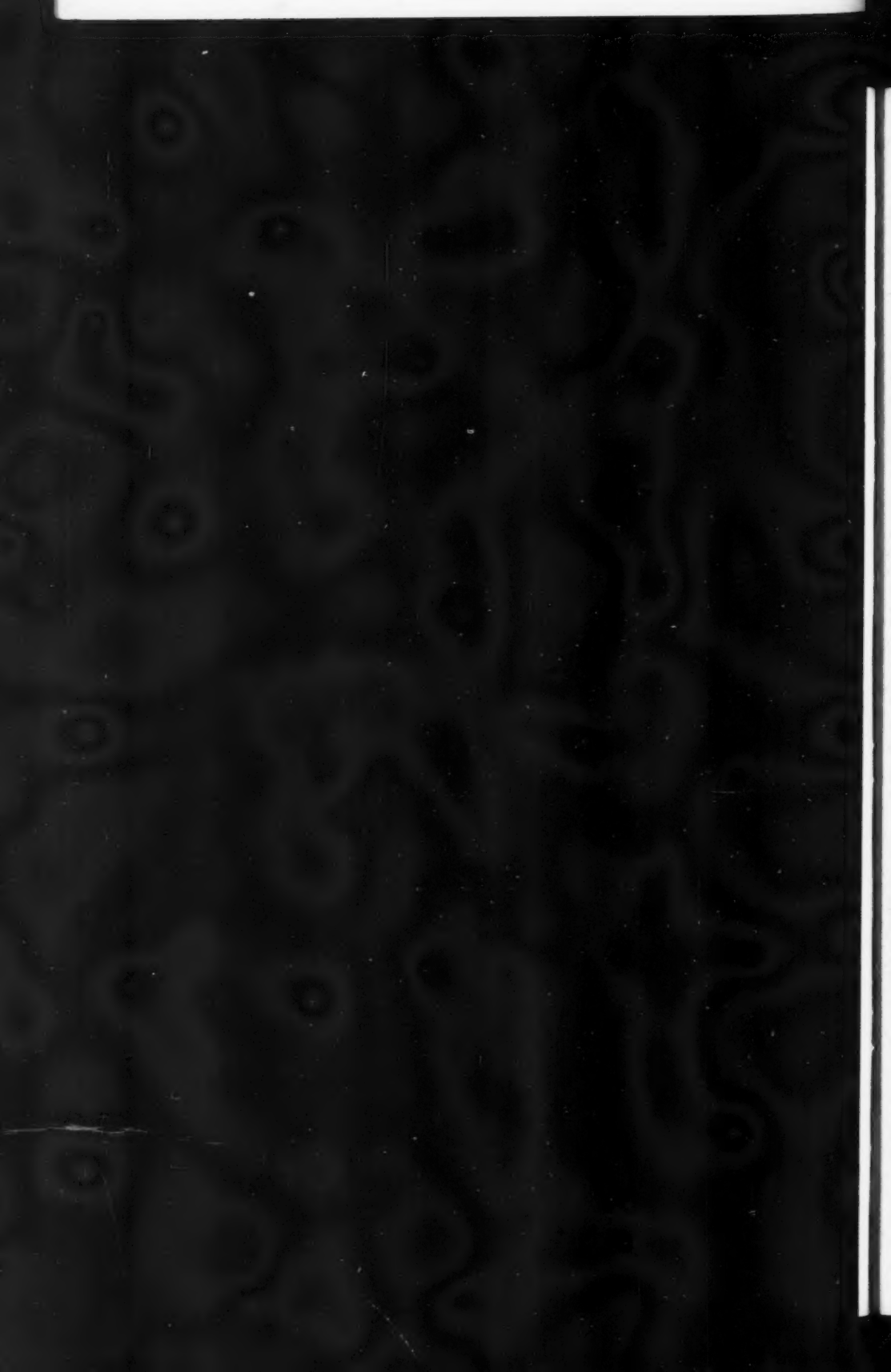
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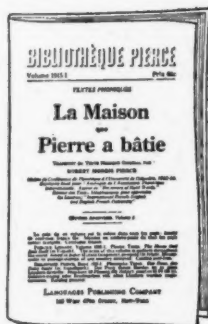
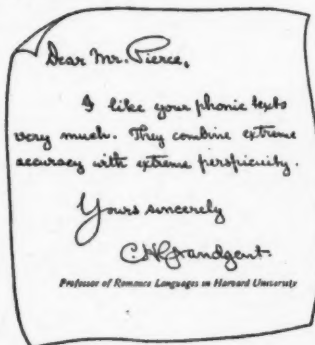
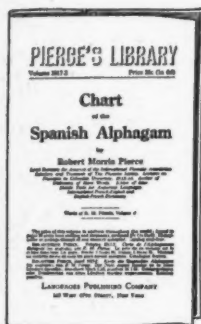




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